



The Freemen Digest

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TAX-EXEMPT FOUNDATIONS

THEIR IMPACT
ON THE WORLD

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The Freeman Institute

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The Freeman Digest

The Freeman Institute publishes the *Freeman Digest*, which analyzes a wide range of topics related to sound principles of constitutional government. It also publishes studies and reports on current issues and the historical development of man's great heritage of freedom.

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The Foundation World

Its Impact and Influence on America

by
Michael Loyd Chadwick
Editor

Between 1933 and 1953 a change took place in the United States which was so drastic it could be accurately described as a "revolution." It was during these critical years that the nation's worst depression occurred and the American people became involved in a catastrophic world war. Shortly afterwards they found themselves in a no-win "undeclared war" in Korea. As crisis piled upon crisis significant changes took place in the structure of American life. One of the more obvious changes was the rapid shifting of ultimate responsibility for the economic welfare of the people from the private sector to the Executive Branch of the Federal Government.

Rather amazingly, this revolutionary transfer of power was achieved without violence and in a propaganda climate which led the majority of the American people to give it their full consent.

By the early 1950's, however, there were many people both in and out of government who felt that something was seriously wrong. It was charged that the resources of America's vast educational system had been misappropriated to teach concepts which were destructive to the entire fabric of the American constitutional system. It was also felt the schools were being utilized to promote the acceptance of economic ideas which are diametrically opposed to the open society of the American free enterprise system.

The question automatically arose, "Who is responsible for all of this?" A preliminary inquiry indicated that the main thrust was coming from several private foundations which had spent hundreds of millions of dollars in tax-exempt funds to promote textbooks and teachings which were "socialistic" in domestic affairs and "one-world" in foreign affairs. The three principal offenders were said to be the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation.



So much public indignation had been generated by 1952, that the 82nd Congress passed House Resolution 561 to set up a special "Select Committee to Investigate Foundations and Comparable Organizations." Many considered this to be one of the most important investigations in the nation's history. The Committee was instructed to determine whether or not any of the foundations had been "using their resources for un-American and subversive activities or for purposes not in the interest of the tradition of the United States." (House Report No. 2514, January 1, 1953, p. 2)

The Cox Committee

This Committee was named after its chairman and became known as the "Cox Committee," but unfortunately it did not accomplish a great deal. The time factor was rather limited and the unexpected death of the chairman resulted in a very superficial inquiry being conducted. Nevertheless, it did establish that there were signs of strong subversive influence on the decision-making level of several leading foundations. However, the impact of this discovery was virtually nullified in the Committee's final report by giving considerable weight to the testimony of the foundation officers who had insisted that the subversive elements on their boards were not of any particular significance.

The Minority Views of Congressman B. Carroll Reece



Congressman B. Carroll Reece was a member of the Cox Committee and was not at all satisfied with the final report. He added an appendage which urged that "if a more comprehensive study is desired, the inquiry might be continued by the 83rd Congress. . . ." (Ibid., p. 14)

Congressman Reece felt that the hasty and superficial inquiry of the Cox Committee left the nation without the answers it needed. He therefore introduced House Resolution 217, which was

passed by a vote of 209 to 183 on July 27, 1953. The resolution provided that:

"The Committee is authorized and directed to conduct a full and complete investigation . . . to determine which of such foundations and organizations are using their resources for un-American and subversive activities; for political purposes; propaganda, or attempts to influence legislation." (House Report No. 2681, December 16, 1954, p. 1)

First Attempt To Block the Investigation

The members of the new Committee were: B. Carroll Reece of Tennessee, Chairman; Jessie P. Wolcott of Michigan; Angier L. Goodwin of Massachusetts; Wayne L. Hays of Ohio; and Gracie Pfost of Idaho.

It is important to note that three of these five individuals had voted against the Reece resolution in order to prevent this Committee from coming into existence. This was the first attempt by the powerful influences working behind the foundations to control and block the investigation.

Second Attempt to Block the Investigation

The resolution directed the new Committee to prepare a report by January 3, 1955. On August 1, 1953, the Committee was granted \$50,000 with the agreement that additional funds would be forthcoming after the first of next year. Committee counsel was obtained on September 1, 1953 and the compilation of a staff began on September 15th. However, it was soon apparent that the promised funds would not be forthcoming. The second attempt to block the investigation of the Reece Committee by the foundation world therefore came in the form of starving the Committee by lack of sufficient funds.

Committee Research Directed by Norman Dodd

Between September 15, 1953 and April 29, 1954 the Reece Committee operated, in essence, under the direction of its Research Director Norman Dodd.

It is interesting to note that after the Committee

was organized the members wanted to study the data collected by the Cox Committee, especially on the subversive aspects of the foundations. For some mysterious reason the entire file dealing with the subversive activities of the foundations had disappeared.

A Preliminary Report by Norman Dodd

On April 29, 1954, Norman Dodd prepared a preliminary report for presentation to the members of the Reece Committee. This report was exploratory in character and outlined the pattern of inquiry which the research staff would be pursuing.

Third Attempt to Block Investigation

The effect of Dodd's preliminary report was electrifying. Within a matter of hours, steps were taken by powerful forces to block the rest of the Committee's investigation. The Establishment media deluged the nation with stories that the investigation was futile and should be terminated.

The smear job on the Committee was the third major tactic utilized by the foundation world to harass and terminate the committee. It soon became obvious why the Reece Committee was considered such a threat. Congressman Reece later described the situation in these words:

"The evidence that had been gathered by the staff pointed to one simple underlying situation, namely, that the major foundations by subsidizing collectivistic-minded educators, had financed a socialist trend in American Government.

"We informed the foundations in advance that our findings suggested that the foundations had for a long time been exercising powerful, although sometimes indirect political influence in both domestic and foreign policy, predominantly toward the left—to say nothing of the support by the foundations of the Institute of Pacific Relations which led the movement to turn China over to the Communists and which was admittedly Communist dominated.

"The doubts and reservations concerning the validity of the complaints against the large foundations were largely dispelled by the almost hysterical reaction of the foundations to the summary presented to the committee by the committee staff on the opening day of the hearings.

"The excitement bordered on panic; as was observed by the demonstrations through the public relations channels of the large foundations and this convinced me, and others of the American public, judging from the letters received . . . that the general picture which had taken shape was not very far from the truth." (Speech before National Press Club Luncheon, February 23, 1955, p. 3)

After Norman Dodd's Preliminary Report appeared, powerful individuals in America made their move to insure that the Committee would be permanently terminated. It was obvious that the Reece Committee had already gone too far. This Committee was about to officially document for the first time in history that the United States was the victim of a deliberate conspiracy to dismantle the Constitutional rights of the people. This conspiracy is aiming at no less than the creation of centralized supranational institutional mechanisms from which it will rule the world under collective management.

Committee Hearings Brought to A Standstill

After nineteen days of hearings, powerful political machinery behind the scenes was deployed at the Capitol to stop the Reece Committee completely. The last hearing was held on July 9, 1954.

The hearings were canceled partly because of the abrasive and uncontrollable actions of Congressman Wayne Hays, who later admitted to Norman Dodd that Major Persons from the White House had been up to see him. "He wanted me to cooperate in dusting up this investigation," Hays stated. (Interview with Norman Dodd, November 12-13, 1977)

Even though the hearings were discontinued, a sufficient quantity of evidence was accumulated by the Committee's staff to clearly demonstrate that the major foundations had been spending hundreds of millions to divest the United States of her traditional system of values and replace them with socialist goals designed to prepare America for provincial status in a global world government. The remainder of this issue will be devoted to examining the evidence gathered by the Reece Committee. It seems to be entirely apparent that these events of the past were a clearly defined prelude to the present. □

Norman Dodd Describes Initial Shock

As Reece Committee Analyzed Carnegie Minutes

The following information is taken from a recent interview with Norman Dodd conducted by Michael Loyd Chadwick, editor, on November 12-13, 1977 in Keene, Va. (*/by Michael Loyd Chadwick)

Norman Dodd is a graduate of Yale University. Early in his life he specialized in banking, becoming an officer of the Bank Trust Co. in New York City in the 1920's. Later he was a private investment counsellor and in 1954 accepted an appointment to direct research for the Reece Committee. Mr. Dodd now resides in Keene, Virginia.

How Many Foundations Should be Investigated?

Mr. Chadwick: How did you begin your investigation?

Mr. Dodd: When we got to Washington we wanted to find out how many foundations we were called upon to investigate, but nobody knew. The best guess at that time as to the number of foundations was 7,000. We knew perfectly well that it was impossible in any serious way to investigate 7,000 foundations in the time span we were allotted and with the size of our appropriation.

My assistant and I therefore assumed that since the Congress was interested in knowing what effect the foundations had exerted on the country, we would work primarily with those foundations which had been in existence the longest. It turned out that we then had to investigate 12.

Twelve Foundations Control 80% of America's Endowment Capital

It also turned out that these 12 foundations represented 80% of the capital endowments possessed by the foundations as a whole. By

concentrating our effort we were able to abandon the usual methods of congressional surveys which is to work out a questionnaire, mail it out to 7,000 foundations, and then tabulate the results. Instead, we asked these 12 foundations specific question based on what we already knew about their activities.

The Ford Foundation Receives Directives from the White House

This brings me to two experiences which I will describe to you. The first was my response to an invitation during November, 1953, from President Roman Gaither of the Ford Foundation, to meet in his office in New York. Upon arriving there, I was greeted with the following:

"Mr. Dodd, we invited you to come because we thought that perhaps, off the record, you would be kind enough to tell us why the Congress is interested in the operations of foundations such as ourselves." Before I could think of how best to reply, he volunteered this: "Mr. Dodd, we operate here under directives . . . which emanate from the White House. Would you like to know what the substance of their directives is?"

My answer was, "Yes, Mr. Gaither, I would like very much to know."

Alter U.S. to Merge With the Soviet Union

Whereupon he said: "The substance of the directives under which we operate is that we shall

was organized the members wanted to study the data collected by the Cox Committee, especially on the subversive aspects of the foundations. For some mysterious reason the entire file dealing with the subversive activities of the foundations had disappeared.

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use our grant-making power to alter life in the United States so that we can be comfortably merged with the Soviet Union." Needless to say, I nearly fell off the chair. . . .

I said, "Mr. Gaither, legally you are entitled to use your grant-making power for this purpose but I do not think you are entitled to withhold this information from the American people to whom you are beholden for your tax exemption. So why do you not tell the American people what you have just told me?"

His answer was: "Mr. Dodd, we would not think of doing that."

Mr. Dodd's Contact with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

The next experience involved the acceptance of an invitation from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. This invitation came in response to a letter which I had written the Endowment asking a few pertinent questions. I arrived at the office of Dr. Joseph Johnson who was then president of the Endowment. He was the successor to Alger Hiss who had been sentenced to five years for perjury because he had denied under oath that he was an agent of the Soviet Union. Present at this meeting with Johnson were two vice-presidents, relatively new men, and legal counsel, a partner in the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell.

After amenities, Dr. Johnson opened the conversation this way: "Mr. Dodd, we have received your letter. We can answer the question but it will be a great deal of trouble. The reason for its being a great deal of trouble is that with the ratification by the Senate of the United Nations treaty, our task was done. And so we bundled up everything in the way of records and sent them to the warehouse and adopted a policy of constructing a building across the street from the United Nations which served as a facility for the benefit of those many organizations which, from this point on, would be bound to follow the activities of the United Nations. So we have a counter suggestion which is as follows: If you can spare a member of your staff and send him to New York for two weeks, we'll provide a room in our library and also make available to him the minute books of the corporation from its inception."

"My first reaction was that he had lost his mind. I had some suspicion what these minute books might well contain. But there was no objection from their Counsel and there seemed to be no disagreement on the part of the vice-presidents. But all of them were relatively young. My guess was that none of them had ever read the minutes themselves. As a result I accepted the invitation and did send a member of my staff to New York. She later brought back to me on Dictaphone belts what she had dictated from the minutes of the board. This information came as a shock to all of us.

The Use of War as an Instrument of Social Change

In 1908 the trustees had raised this question, "Is there any way known to man more effective than war, assuming that you wish to alter the life of an entire people?" They discussed this question academically and in a scholarly fashion for almost a year and came up with the conclusion that war is the most effective means known to man, assuming that you want to begin concentrating power in government and abandon the dispersion of authority contemplated by the Constitution.

"How Do We Involve the U.S. In War?"

They then raised Question No. 2: "How do we involve the United States in such a war?" This was in 1909. I doubt if there was any subject more removed from the minds of people in this country at that time than the possibility of involvement in war. There were intermittent wars, you will remember, in the Balkans but my guess is that not many people in the country knew where the Balkans were. The trustees answered the question this way: "We must control the diplomatic machinery of the United States."

How Do We Control the Diplomatic Machinery of the U.S.?

That brings up Question No. 3 which is: "How do we secure control of the diplomatic machinery of the United States?" And the answer comes up, "We must get control of the State Department."

That tied in with prior information our Committee had uncovered indicating that the hand of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace had already become a powerful policy-making force inside the State Department.

Carnegie Trustees Congratulate Themselves on Getting U.S. Into World War I

Finally, in 1917, we did get in a war—World War I. These Trustees then had the brashness to congratulate themselves on the wisdom and validity of their original decision. The impact of our participation in World War I immediately indicated its capacity to alter our national life. The Trustees even went so far as to dispatch a telegram to President Wilson, pressuring him to see to it that the war did not end too quickly.

Carnegie Foundation Seeks To Prevent U.S. From Returning To Pre-War Society

Finally the war was over. The Trustees then took up the problem of preventing—as they put it—a reversion of life in the United States to what it was prior to 1914. They came to the conclusion that to gain that end they must somehow get control of education in the United States. They realized this was a prodigious piece of work, so they tried to obtain the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation. They then divided the task in parts, giving to the Rockefeller Foundation the responsibility of altering education as it pertains to domestic subjects, but Carnegie retained the task of altering our education as it pertained to subjects bearing on our international relationships. They then decided together that the best way to achieve their purpose was by an alteration in the teaching of American History. So they approached three of the most prominent historians.

They had in mind the discrediting of the American founders and the demeaning of the nation's Constitutional structure of government. So they approached several of the most prominent historians of that day with this proposition but they were turned down flatly.

The Trustees then decided that it was necessary for them to build their own stable of historians.

They therefore approached the Guggenheim Foundation which specializes in the awarding of fellowships and said, "When we discover a likely young person who is studying and looking forward to becoming a teacher of history, we will take him to London to pursue his studies." So they took 20 or so to London and there they were briefed in what was expected of them. This group then returned and eventually became the most active influence in the American Historical Society.

This coincides with the appearance (which perhaps you will remember) of book after book, the contents of which cast aspersion on the early leaders of the country and relegated their ideas to the realm of myth.

The American Historical Society

Finally, toward the end of the 1920's, the minutes showed that the Endowment granted the American Historical Society \$400,000 for the sole purpose of rendering a report as to what the future of this country should be. This appears in seven volumes. The seventh volume summarizes the contents of the other six and ends on this note: The future belongs to collectivism, administered with characteristic American humanitarianism and efficiency.

The Committee Hearings

With this information as a background, our staff prepared to launch into a full-scale investigation of what these major foundations had been doing with their vast resources of tax-exempt money.

I was hopeful that all the committee itself would have to do would be to invite the officers of the Carnegie Endowment to appear before them and answer some pertinent questions. Because of our access to the minute books, we would know if their answers were true. However, it did not turn out to be that simple. Our staff reports were based more on research into the known activities and literature of the foundation than the hearings themselves. □

The Reece Committee Staff Report on Relations Between

Foundations And Education



By Thomas M. McNiece
Assistant Research Director, Reece Committee

On page A1161 of the appendix of the Congressional Record of February 15, 1954, there appears the copy of an article by Seymour E. Harris, professor of economics at Harvard University. This article is entitled, "The Old Deal," and appeared originally in the magazine *Progressive* in the issue of December 1953. We are quoting the first paragraph of this article:

"In the 20 years between 1933 and 1953 the politicians, college professors, and lawyers, with a little help from business, wrought a revolution in the economic policies of the United States. They repudiated laissez-faire. They saw the simple fact that if capitalism were to survive, Government must take some responsibility for developing the Nation's resources, putting a floor under spending, achieving a more equitable distribution of income, and protecting the weak against the strong. The price of continuing the free society was to be limited intervention by Government."

Dr. Harold Rugg Sees Post-War Period as a Social Revolution

Stepping backward for a span of 9 years, we wish to submit another quotation, this time from the issue of October 15, 1943, of the magazine *Frontiers of Democracy*, the successor to an earlier one to which reference will be made later and which was called *Social Frontier*. Dr. Harold Rugg of Teachers College, Columbia University, was the editor of the latter magazine and the author of the article from which this excerpt is made:

"Thirteen months will elapse between the publication of this issue of *Frontiers* and the national election of 1944. In those months the American people must make one of the great decisions in their history. They will elect the President and the Congress that will make the peace and that will carry on the national productive system in the transition years. The decisions made by that Government, in collaboration with the British and Russian Governments, will set the mold of political and economic life for a generation to come. * * * We have suddenly come out upon a new frontier and

must chart a new course. It is a psychological frontier, an unmarked wilderness of competing desires and possessions, of property ownerships and power complexes. On such a frontier wisdom is the supreme need, rather than technological efficiency and physical strength in which our people are so competent.

"We are strong enough but are we wise enough? We shall soon see for the testing moment is now. Our measure will be taken in these 13 months. The test is whether enough of our people—perhaps a compact minority of 10 million will be enough—can grasp the established fact that, in company with other industrializing peoples, we are living in a worldwide social revolution."

Evidence Indicates Social Revolution Promoted By Foundations

We propose to offer evidence which seems to indicate that this "revolution" has been promoted. Included within this supporting evidence will be documented records that will show how the flow of money, men, and ideas combined to promote this so-called revolution just mentioned.

The money in large part came from the foundations. Men and ideas in a great measure came from the intellectual groups or societies supported by this money and found their way into the powerful agencies of education and Government. . . .

Foundations, education, and Government form a triangle of influences, natural under the circumstances and certainly without criticism in itself as long as the three entities exist and the liaison is not abused or misused in the furtherance of questionable activities.

As previously suggested, the chart is basically in the form of a triangle with appended rectangles to indicate the functional activities in their relationship to each other. At the apex we have placed the foundations. At the lateral or base angles, on the left and right, respectively, are the educational and governmental members of the triad. Suspended from the rectangle representing the foundations are those representing the intellectual groups which are dependent to a large extent upon the foundations for their support.

The relationships between and among these organized intellectual groups are far more complex than is indicated on the chart. Some of these organizations have many constituent member groups. The American Council of Learned Societies has 24 constituent societies, the Social Science Research Council 7, the American Council on Education 79 constituent members, 64 associate members, and 954 institutional members. In numbers and interlocking combinations they are too numerous and complex to picture on this chart. . . .

These types of intellectual societies may be considered as clearing houses or perhaps as wholesalers of money received from foundations inasmuch as they are frequently the recipients of relatively large grants which they often distribute in subdivided amounts to member groups and individuals.

For illustrative purposes, the following four societies are listed: American Council of Learned Societies, including the American Historical Association, Social Science Research Council, National Academy of Sciences, American Council on Education.

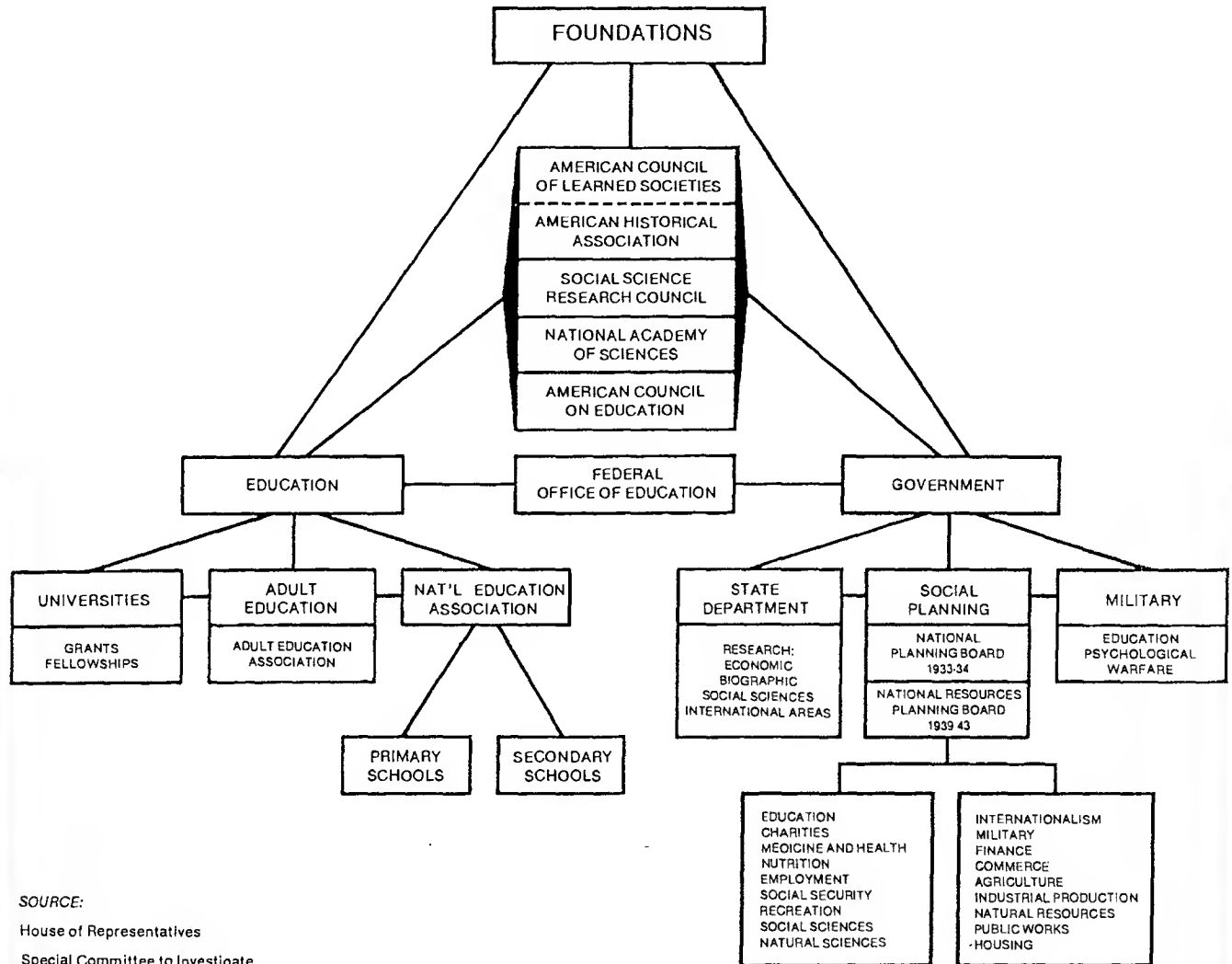
The four shown on the chart are enough to illustrate the relationship of such societies to the governmental and the other educational units shown on the chart. Furthermore, credit or appreciation has been expressed by both educational and governmental circles for aid received from each of these four organizations.

The Organization Chart

The nature of these threefold relationships can be most clearly and quickly illustrated by reference to the chart prepared for the purpose and entitled, "Relationships Between Foundations, Education, and Government." . . .

Below the rectangle representing education appear the various branches of the educational effort. To avoid undue complexity, no attempt has been made here or at any other points on the chart to portray any but the principal areas of operation. Under the governmental function a few divisions of activity are shown. These are confined to the executive branches of Government where the greatest changes have occurred.

INTER-RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN FOUNDATIONS, EDUCATION AND GOVERNMENT



SOURCE:

House of Representatives
Special Committee to Investigate
Tax Exempt Foundations.
May 1954

Interpretation of the Chart

The lines connecting the various rectangles on the chart symbolize the paths followed in the flow or interchange of money, men, and ideas as previously mentioned. The focal point of contacts between these connecting lines and the rectangles are lettered somewhat in the manner used in textbooks of geometry and trigonometry in order to facilitate identification and reference in describing

the existing relationships. Finally, this chart as a whole will be useful in locating the areas in which we have found evidence of questionable procedure against what we deem to be public interest.

Leaving the chart for a few moments, we shall refer to certain information derived from the record of the Cox committee hearing.

Information From the Cox Committee Hearing

Reference to the record shows that definite orders were issued in Soviet circles to infiltrate "all strata of western public opinion" in an effort to accomplish two objectives: one, to penetrate and utilize intellectual circles for the benefit of the Soviet cause and two, to gain access to foundation funds to cover the cost of such effort. Testimony of Messrs. Bogolepov and Malkin described firsthand knowledge of these instructions. Testimony of Mr. Louis Budenz confirmed this, even to listing the names of committee members appointed to accomplish this objective. Testimony of Mr. Manning Johnson added further confirmation of these facts and in addition provided the names of certain individuals who had succeeded in penetrating or receiving grants from several of the foundations.

Evidence of Communist Entry into Foundations

Evidence of actual Communist entry into foundation organizations is supplied in the Cox committee record. This testimony involves at least seven foundations, namely, the Marshall Field Foundation, the Garland Fund, the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, the Rosenwald Fund, and the Phelps Stokes Fund. . . .

The tax-exempt status of the Robert Marshall Foundation was revoked by the Internal Revenue Bureau and the Rosenwald Fund, which was one of limited life, was liquidated in 1948 in accordance with the date specified by the founder.

Reference to the Cox committee record shows that some 95 individuals and organizations with leftist records or affiliations admittedly received grants from some of our foundations. These were divided as follows:

Rockefeller Foundation, 26
Carnegie Corporation, 35
Russell Sage Foundation, 1
Wm. O. Whitney Foundation, 7
Marshall Field Foundation, 6
John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, 5
Carnegie Endowment for
International Peace, 15

A total of 95.

It should be clearly understood that there is no significance to be attached to the numerical differences or comparisons in the foregoing list. There are too many variables involved to warrant any conclusions whatever on relative performance among the foundations listed. Among these are the differing number of grants made and the varying opportunities for thorough search or screening of the records involved.

This list does not include all the grants of this character that were made. At this time we are not concerned with the question as to whether or not the foundations knew or could have found out about the questionable affiliations of these grantees before the grants were made. The fact is, the funds were given to these people. This is the important point of interest to us. These grants were made to professors, authors, lecturers, educational groups, and so forth, and all virtually without exception were included within educational circles. It should be obvious that with the passage of time, the activity of this many people and organizations dedicated to spreading the word in the educational field, would have an influence all out of measurable proportion to the relative value and number of grants. This influence is increasing and will continue to increase unless it is checked.

Personnel and Advisory Services From High Level

During the last 20 years and especially in the last decade, the Government has made increasing demands upon the educational world for assistance from academic groups or societies. As will be brought out later in the documented records, it is from these centralized and interlocking educational groups that much of the influence which we question has arisen.

To indicate the magnitude of these sources of influence a few matters of record may be mentioned.

The National Planning Board requested aid from the Social Science Research Council in compiling a section of one of their planning reports. A committee from the Social Science Research Council actually prepared this section of the report. The creation of this committee for the purpose is described in the annual report for the Social Science Research Council for 1933-34. The Na-

tional Planning Board rendered a final report for 1933-34. On page 54 of this report is the following caption: "The Aid Which the Social Sciences Have Rendered and Can Render to National Planning, June 1934."

Immediately below this is the phrase: "Memorandum prepared for the National Planning Board by a committee of the Social Science Research Council."



Expenditure of the Federal Government For Social Science Research Projects

In 1950, the Russell Sage Foundation published a booklet entitled, "Effective Use of Social Science Research in the Federal Services." On page 5 of this report is the following statement to which we have added some italic:

"This pamphlet has been written because the Federal Government has become the outstanding employer of social scientists and consumer of social science materials in the conduct of practical affairs. *Expenditures of the Federal Government for social science research projects, either under direct governmental auspices or under contract with private agencies, and for personnel in administrative capacities having command of social science knowledge, far exceed the amount given by all the philanthropic foundations for similar purposes.*"

Further evidence of the importance placed on this source of aid in governmental operations is

offered in the following extracts from the annual reports of the Rockefeller Foundation wherein they refer to the granting of a total of \$65,000 to facilitate planning for adequate supply of personnel qualified for "high level work" in public affairs and education.

Steady Supply of Social Scientists in Public Affairs

On page 313 of the 1949 annual report, the following statement appears:

"American Council of Learned Societies Personnel in Humanities. Careful planning to assure a steady supply of people qualified for high-level work is needed in public affairs as well as in education and institutional research. Considerations of national welfare have led a number of governmental agencies to ask how many specialists of particular kinds now exist, how they can be located and whether they are now being replaced or increased in number."

Another reference appears on page 412 of the annual report for 1951. It follows herewith:

"American Council of Learned Societies—Personnel in the Humanities. During the last several years extensive studies have been made of the demands for and the possible supply in the United States of personnel with unusual academic training. Because of the importance of having the humanities adequately represented in such studies, the Rockefeller Foundation in 1949 made a grant of \$31,000 to the American Council of Learned Societies to permit the addition to its staff of Mr. J. F. Wellemeyer, Jr., as staff adviser on personnel studies. In view of the effective work done by the staff adviser, the Rockefeller Foundation in 1951 made an additional 2-year grant of \$34,000 for continuation of this activity."

Social Revolution Promoted from Highly Centralized Sources

In the foregoing record from the annual report of the Rockefeller Foundation for 1949 is the very clear statement of the need for an adequate supply of personnel sufficiently qualified in the humanities for public affairs, education and institu-

“What this investigation does seem to indicate is that many [foundation]grants . . . have been devoted to purposes that are promoting a departure from the fundamental concepts of education and government under our Constitution.”

—Thomas M. McNiece (see below)

tional research. In itself there should be no criticism of this objective. It does, however, seem to confirm that much of the influence which we are discussing comes from highly centralized sources. This naturally increases the opportunity to effectuate highly coordinated plans in all affected areas of activities and functions. Any criticism that arises should be directed to the final product or end result of this liaison. If such end results are harmful or opposed to the public interest all who have participated in the development of the situation should share the responsibility, and especially if such activities and their support are continued.

Defining Public Interest

Inasmuch as the term “public interest” will be used in this report from time to time, it will be well to define it in the sense that it is used in this section of the report of the staff committee. . . . Public interest is difficult to define but for the purpose of this study, we can possibly do no better than to refer to the preamble of the Constitution of the United States wherein it is stated that the Constitution is established—“. . . in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.”

. . . The last three words in the foregoing quotation impose a responsibility for the future upon us of the present. . . .

Foundation Grants To Educational Institutions

The ensuing financial data will give some idea of the great amount of funds and their distribution made available in the educational field by a few of the larger foundations.

The statement is by no means complete. In fact it contains the contributions of only six of the larger foundations where the specific beneficiaries are named.

These six are as follows:

The Carnegie Corporation of New York
The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace
The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching
The Rockefeller Foundation
The General Education Board
The Ford Foundation (two instances only)

Great benefit has unquestionably resulted to all mankind from the contributions of these and other foundations and there is no intention to gainsay or minimize this or to detract from the credit due the foundations for these benefits.

Foundation Grants Promoting Departure From Constitution

What this investigation does seem to indicate is that many small grants have found their way into questionable hands and many large ones in points of concentrated use have been devoted to purposes that are promoting a departure from the fundamental concepts of education and government under our Constitution. That this may be recognized by those engaged in such activities is indicated by the frequent references in their own literature to the “age of transition” through which we are passing, and the responsibility that must be assumed by educators in leading the way. No one in full possession of his faculties should oppose change for the better but change for the sake of change alone may prove to be a dangerous delusion.

The following record has been summarized from the annual reports of the foundations previously named:

Associations receiving grants	Period	Amount
American Council on Education.....	1920-52	\$6,119,700
American Historical Association.....	1923-52	574,800
American Council of Learned Societies.....	1924-52	5,113,800
Council on Foreign Relations.....	1923-52	3,064,800
Foreign Policy Association.....	1933-51	1,938,000
Institute of International Education.....	1929-52	2,081,100
Institute of Pacific Relations.....	1929-52	3,843,600
National Academy of Sciences (including National Research Council).....	1915-52	20,715,800
National Education Association.....	1916-52	1,229,000
Progressive Education Association.....	1932-43	4,257,800
Social Science Research Council.....	1925-52	11,747,600
Total.....		60,686,000

Specific university grants	Period	Amount
London School of Economics.....	1929-52	\$4,105,600
Teachers' College—Columbia University.....	1923-52	8,398,176
Lincoln School—Columbia University.....	1917-52	6,821,100

Grants by the Rockefeller Foundation (derived from a consolidated report of the Rockefeller Foundations) and the General Education Board combined to universities and including only the totals to the ten largest beneficiaries of each of the two foundations in each State of the United States:

	Period	Amount
To universities.....	1902-51	\$256,553,493
Total fellowships grants.....	1902-51	33,789,569
Total.....		290,343,062

According to our compilations, the Carnegie Corp. has contributed to all educational purposes, from 1911 to 1950, approximately \$25,300,000.

(These grants follow the line AB on the chart.)

These data are representative of the conditions which they disclose

Evaluation of the Evidence

. . . Before undertaking a more detailed analysis of the influences working in the educational world, we wish to say emphatically and to have it understood clearly that our evidence is not directed toward nor does it indict our large educational

(Cont. next page)

staff, the hundreds of thousands of teachers and supervisors whose merit and loyalty are beyond all question. Let no one overlook this.

We are differentiating between this widely distributed educational staff and the top level centers of influence in which educational plans and policies are formulated.

Social Revolution Determined By Policies Originating At the Top

There is in every operating unit, be it factory, office, union, council, or association a method or fashion of work that is determined by policies originating at the top. Were it not so, the organization would soon disintegrate. So it is in the world of education and government.

Perhaps, as this pertains to the field of education, the principle and its application can be well illustrated by quotation from some observations by the Ford Foundation. These quotations, as will be noted, emphasize the importance of concentrated effort for maximum results.

From the Fund for Advancement of Education, annual report 1951-52, page 6:

"In an effort to be useful at too many points in the whole system of education it could easily fall into what an early officer of the Rockefeller Foundation called 'scatteration giving' and thus fail to be of any real value to education anywhere. Given limited resources, selection was inevitable. Given a desire to be of maximum usefulness, concentration was essential."

Referring to a survey on military education (p. 24):

"This survey made clear that the effectiveness of educational work in any military location depends very largely on the degree of importance which the commanding officer attaches to it and the interest and competence of the officers conducting it. It seemed clear, therefore, that the preparation of officers to assume responsibility for education in the military services was the key to effectiveness of orientation programs. The fund plans, therefore upon the request from the Office of Defense, to support pilot projects for introducing into the programs of ROTC units substantial preparation for leadership in the kind of education appropriate in the military forces of a democracy."

From the report on the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation—June 1953 (p. 24):

"Accepting the diagnosis of a leading figure in the field—that 'training of a moderate number of first-rate people is in the present juncture far more urgent than that of a large number of merely competent people.' The division took as a first step the development of plans for what came to be known as the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences."

Page 28:

"In sum, then, the Foundation's hope and expectation is significantly to advance the behavioral sciences—to get farther faster—through the temporary concentration at one place of the ablest scholars and the most promising younger people studying together in the most effective way that the state of the field now permits."

(Note.—All emphasis supplied.)

Centralized Control in Education and Government

While we have noticed other references of similar nature and import in various places, there should be sufficient to support our view that the pattern is determined at the top. It is also obvious on slight consideration that in education as in government, the most effective megaphones and channels of communication are centralized in the same places. These thoughts should be kept in mind in the evaluation of the evidence as it will be presented.

There is another point for consideration that bears upon the excerpts which will be quoted later. Criticism is frequently made about distortion of meaning by lifting such quotations from context. This is sometimes true. In this case a consistent effort has been made to avoid such distortion and we believe we have succeeded. . . . Furthermore, the confirming similarities of so many quotations from various sources should clearly mark the paths they follow.

Distribution of Information Largely Confined to Professional Publications.

Attention should be called to still another significant factor in this situation. It is the fact that most

of the information submitted in these quotations appears and is available only in professional publications whose circulation is largely confined to those engaged in these professions. This results naturally in two things: One, the coordinated effectiveness within the professional groups is increased; two, relatively few of the citizenry outside these professional circles have any means of knowing what is developing and therefore of organizing any protest against it. In fact much of the meaning

of some articles would be obscure to the average citizen because of the subtle approach and highly technical vocabulary.

This closely channeled flow of information should also be a concern of the trustees of the foundations. . . . □

(Hearings, Special Committee To Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations And Comparable Organizations, May, 1954, pp. 468-481)

“In the 20 years between 1933 and 1953 the politicians, college professors, and lawyers, with a little help from business, wrought a revolution in the economic policies of the United States. They repudiated laissez-faire. ”

—Seymour E. Harris
Professor of Economics
Harvard University
(see p. 7)

The Reece Committee Final Report

On Relations Between Foundations And Education

Carnegie and Rockefeller Reform The Colleges

The Rockefeller General Education Board (terminated in 1953) was chartered in 1903; *The Carnegie Fund for the Advancement of Teaching*, in 1905. Other organizations created by the Rockefeller and Carnegie reservoirs of wealth which went into educational work were:

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1910

The Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1911

The Rockefeller Foundation, 1918 and

The Laura Spellman Rockefeller Memorial, 1918 (later merged with the Rockefeller Foundation).

Miss Kathryn Casey, legal analyst of the Committee, filed a detailed report on the educational activities of these foundations (hearings, pp. 668 et seq.). One of the subjects treated in this report was the campaign instituted by the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations to raise the standards of our institutions of higher learning. Dr. Ernest Victor Hollis (now Chief of College Administration in the United States Office of Education)

once described the background of this campaign as follows:

"* * * unfavorable public estimate of the elder Rockefeller and Andrew Carnegie, made it inexpedient in 1905 for their newly created philanthropic foundations to attempt any direct reforms in higher education." (Hearings, p. 671.)

Coercion By Indirection

The method adopted, therefore, was one of coercion by indirection.

"The subject was approached indirectly through general and non-controversial purposes—nearly all foundation grants made before 1920 being for such purposes."

As Dr. Hollis said:¹

"Far reaching college reform was carefully embedded in many of these non-controversial grants. It was so skillfully done that few of the grants are directly chargeable to the ultimate reforms they sought to effect. For instance, there is little obvious connection between giving a pension to a college professor or giving a sum to the general endow-

¹Philanthropic Foundation and Higher Education, Ernest Victor Hollis, p. 127.

ment of his college, and reforming the entrance requirements, the financial practices, and the scholastic standards of his institution. This situation makes it necessary to present qualitative influence without immediately showing the quantitative grant that made the influence possible." (Hearings, p. 671.)

Carnegie and Rockefeller Align Themselves Behind Progressive Education

The *Carnegie* and *Rockefeller* foundations aligned themselves behind the "progressive educators" (the words are those of Dr. Hollis—Hearing, p. 672), "who are seeking such changes as those described as taking place at the University of Chicago* * *"; and financed, to the tune of several hundreds of millions of dollars, measures which were intended to reform the colleges and universities. . . .

Foundations Grew To Become Directors And Molders of Higher Education

Plans for the pensioning of professors, and offers of college endowment, were conditioned upon conformity to the plans and standards of the granting foundations. These plans and offers were irresistible. Accrediting systems were established. Grants and pensions were not available unless the arbitrary standards set by the foundations were accepted. Thus, the foundations grew to be the comptrollers of higher education in the United States, its directors and molders.

Research and Experimental Work

Research and experimental work in education was established, largely at Columbia, Chicago and Stanford Universities. *The American Council on Education* "provided the general administrative and supervisory direction necessary to coordinate such a large cooperative undertaking." (Hearings, p. 672.) Regional accrediting associations were formed, and other media were created or used to implement the coercive plans of the *Carnegie* and *Rockefeller* funds. As an example of the extent of the coercion, *The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Education* held that no college

could participate in its pension fund if it remained under the control of a religious group. Moreover, those colleges which were deemed (by the foundation executives) to be "weak and tottering" or "superfluous" were permitted to die a hoped-for natural death.

"Clearing house" organizations and other agencies were treated to very substantial contributions: among them *The American Council on Education*, *The National Education Association* and *The Progressive Education Association*.

Miss Casey took up separately each of the major foundations involved in her exposition. She found that *The Carnegie Corporation of New York* had contributed a total of \$1,237,711 to *The National Education Association*, *The Progressive Education Association* and *The American Council on Education*, perhaps the major part of their sustenance in the early years. (Hearings, p. 679.) She concluded that these three organizations have operated to the end of producing uniformity in teaching, teacher-training and administrative practices in education and that the *Carnegie Corporation* must have approved this work. It must also have approved the work done by *The Institute of International Education*, *The Institute of Educational Research*, Columbia Teachers College and its appendage, the *Lincoln School*, into which enterprises millions were poured. (Hearings, p. 704.) Miss Casey said:

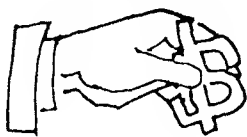
"Even those not in the educational field recognize that today there is, in effect, a national set of standards of education, curricula, and methods of teaching prevailing throughout the United States. As a practical matter, the net result of this is nothing more nor less than a system of education which is uniform throughout the country. Moreover, in the case of the *National Education Association*, one of its goals for the 'united teaching profession in 1951-57,' is stated on page 13 of the *National Education Association Handbook* for 1953-54 to be:

"A strong, adequately staffed State department of education in each State and a more adequate Federal education agency.

* * * * *

"Equalization and expansion of educational opportunity including needed State and national financing.'" (Hearings, p. 704.)

The Carnegie Corporation



Finances
Socialism

From 1928 to 1933 *The Carnegie Corporation of New York* provided heavy aggregate financing (a total of \$340,000) to *The American Historical Society*, a constituent of *The American Council of Learned Societies*, for the production of a study by its *Commission on Social Studies* whose final report was published in sixteen sections. The last section, issued in 1934, is known as *Conclusions and Recommendations*. This is a momentous document. . . .

The Commission heralds the decline of the free enterprise system. It does not contest the movement for radical social change. It accepts the new era as already *fait accompli*, saying:

"9. Cumulative evidence supports the conclusion that, in the United States as in other countries, the age of individualism and laissez faire in economy and government is closing and that a new age of collectivism is emerging." (Hearings, pp. 476, 477.)

There follows this remarkable statement:

"10. As to the specific form which this 'collectivism,' this integration and interdependence, is taking and will take in the future, the evidence at hand is by no means clear or unequivocal. *It may involve the limiting or supplanting of private property by public property* or it may entail the preservation of private property, extended and distributed among the masses. Most likely, it will issue from a process of experimentation and will represent a composite of historic doctrines and social conceptions yet to appear. Almost certainly it will involve a larger measure of compulsory as well as voluntary cooperation of citizens in the conduct of the complex national economy, a corresponding enlargement of the functions of government, and an increasing state intervention in fundamental branches of economy previously left to the individual discretion and initiative—a state intervention that in some instances may be direct and mandatory and in others indirect and facilitative. In any event the Commission is convinced by its *interpre-*

tation of available empirical data that the actually integrating economy of the present day is the forerunner of a consciously integrated society in which individual economic actions and individual property rights will be altered and abridged." [Emphasis supplied.]

We pause here to note that the social scientists who composed this masterpiece apparently made up their minds on empirical data. No better illustration could be given than this to show the fallacy of an overemphasis on empiricism in the social sciences. The document proceeds:

The Passing Age of Individualism

"11. The emerging age is particularly an age of transition. It is marked by numerous and severe tensions arising out of the conflict between the actual trend toward integrated economy and society, on the one side, and the traditional practices, dispositions, ideas, and institutional arrangements inherited from the *passing age of individualism*, on the other. In all the recommendations that follow the transitional character of the present epoch is recognized." [Emphasis supplied.]

Placing Skids Under the Free Enterprise System

Note "the passing age of individualism." The statement is not that the age of individualism may be passing; the statement is definite—the age of individualism is passing. Is there any expression of disapproval or regret at its passing? We find none. We must assume that the foundation-financed authors approved, that they were eager to help put skids under the free enterprise system to help slide it out of the United States. This was their right as individuals. But we question the right of a foundation to finance the undertaking with public funds!

The statement continues:

"12. Underlying and illustrative of these tensions are privation in the midst of plenty, violations of fiduciary trust, gross inequalities in income and wealth, widespread racketeering and banditry, wasteful use of natural resources, unbalanced distribution and organization of labor and leisure, the harnessing of science to individualism in business

(Cont. next page)



enterprise, the artificiality of political boundaries and divisions, the subjection of public welfare to the egoism of private interests, the maladjustment of production and consumption, persistent tendencies toward economic instability, disproportionate growth of debt and property claims in relation to production, accelerating tempo of panics, crises, and depressions attended by ever-wider destruction of capital and demoralization of labor, struggles among nations for markets and raw materials leading to international conflicts and wars."

Social Scientists Echoing Political Movement Toward Paternalism

We pause again to note that this description of the era does not expose these "elite" social scientists as objective students of history. The description smacks of either hysteria or intended bias. It gives the impression that the world has gone to pot and the United States particularly. The facts are that a higher standard of living had been attained in the United States than ever before in our history. There was a depression but we had had depressions before. There had been a war not so long before, but there had been wars before. To sum up the condition of the world and of the United States as uniquely disturbing was blind or unconscionable. One cannot escape the conclusion that these "scientists" were merely echoing the political ideas which precipitated the strong political movement toward paternalism and looked far beyond it rather than doing that objective analy-

sis which one would expect of those who deem themselves an elite entitled to tell the rest of us what is good for us. The report continues:

"13. If historical knowledge is any guide, these tensions, accompanied by oscillations in popular opinion, public policy, and the fortunes of the struggle for power, will continue until some approximate adjustment is made between social thought, social practice, and economic realities, or until society, exhausted by the conflict and at the end of its spiritual and inventive resources, sinks back into a more primitive order of economy and life. Such is the long-run view of social development in general, and of American life in particular, which must form the background for any educational program designed to prepare either children or adults for their coming trials, opportunities, and responsibilities." (Hearings, pp. 476, 477.)

Redistributing Wealth and Income

Under the heading of "Choices Deemed Possible and Desirable" the report proceeds:

"1. Within the limits of the broad trend toward social integration the possible forms of economic and political life are many and varied, *involving wide differences in modes of distributing wealth, income, and cultural opportunity*, embracing various conceptions of the State and of the rights, duties, and privileges of the ordinary citizen, and representing the most diverse ideals concerning the relations of sexes, classes, religions, nations, and races." * * * [Emphasis supplied.]

The emphasized phrase in this section interests us. Under our form of society, "wealth" and "income" and "cultural opportunity" are not *distributed*. To some extent we "re-distribute" wealth and income—that is, by taxing it heavily and using the proceeds for social purposes. Perhaps we over-emphasize the selection of the term "distributing"; but it seems to be an intended selection, one anticipating (and approving) a form of collectivism.

Education Must Prepare Citizens for a Collectivist or Socialist System

Under the heading of "The Redistribution of Power" it continues.:

"1. If the teacher is to achieve these conditions of improved status and thus free the school from the domination of special interests and convert it into a truly enlightening force in society, there must be a redistribution of power in the general conduct of education—the board of education will have to be made more representative, the administration of the school will have to be conceived more broadly and the teaching profession as a whole will have to organize, develop a theory of its social function and create certain instrumentalities indispensable to the realization of its aims.

"2. The ordinary board of education in the United States, with the exception of the rural district board, is composed for the most part of business and professional men; the ordinary rural district board is composed almost altogether of landholders. In the former case the board is not fully representative of the supporting population and thus tends to impose upon the school the social ideas of a special class; in both instances its membership is apt to be peculiarly rooted in the economic individualism of the 19th century.

"3. If the board of education is to support a school program conceived in terms of the general welfare and adjusted to *the needs of an epoch marked by transition to some form of socialized economy*, it should include in its membership adequate representation of points of view other than those of private business.

"4. With the expansion of education and the growth of large school systems, involving the coordination of the efforts of tens, hundreds and even thousands of professional workers and the

expenditure of vast sums of money on grounds, buildings and equipment, the function of administration has become increasingly important and indispensable." (Hearings, pp. 477, 478.) [Emphasis supplied.]

It is apparent that this foundation-supported report lends its vast influence to the concept that education must be turned in the direction of preparing the public for a new form of society, a collectivist or socialist system, the coming of which is taken for granted and apparently approved by the "scientists" who presume to tell us what is good for us. Of course, this movement for adjustment to the expected Nirvana must be implemented. Under the heading "Appendix A—Next Steps" the Report continues:

"2. However, the commission is mindful of the proper and practical question: What are the next steps? It indicates, therefore, the lines along which attacks can and will be made on the problem of applying its conclusions with respect to instruction in the social sciences." (Hearings, p. 478.)

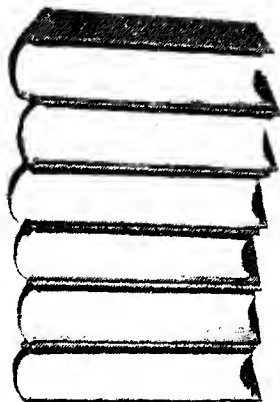
Concerted Effort To Ease-in the Age of Collectivism

After this comes what might be called the "pay-off":

"3. As often repeated, the first step is to awaken and consolidate leadership around the philosophy and purpose of education herein expounded—leadership among administrators, teachers, boards of trustees, colleges and normal school presidents—thinkers and workers in every field of education and the social sciences. Signs of such an awakening and consolidation of leadership are already abundantly evident; in the resolutions on instruction in the social sciences adopted in 1933 by the department of superintendence of the National Education Association at Minneapolis and by the association itself at Chicago; in the activities of the United States Commissioner of Education during the past few years; and in almost every local or national meeting of representatives of the teaching profession." (Hearings, p. 478.)

A concerted effort is thus to be made by all those having to do with education to help with the business of easing in the new era, the age of collectivism. The report sees signs of an "awakening and

consolidation of leadership", noting among them "the resolutions on instruction in the social sciences adopted in 1933 by *The Department of Superintendence of The National Education Association* at Minneapolis and by *The Association* itself at Chicago."



American Historical Association To Take Over Altering of History

The American Historical Association announces further that it has taken over a publication called *The Historical Outlook*, a journal for social science teachers, (it was then re-named *The Social Sciences*). Among the new purposes of the publication was to be "to furnish as rapidly as possible various programs of instruction organized within the frame of reference outlined by the *Commission*."

Textbooks To Be Altered And Rewritten To Promote Socialism

Writers of textbooks, said the report, were "expected to revamp and rewrite their old works in accordance with this frame of reference and new writers in the field of the social sciences will undoubtedly attack the central problem here conceived * * *." "Makers of programs in the social sciences in cities, towns and states" were expected to "recast existing syllabi and schemes of instruction * * *." Colleges and normal schools were to "review their current programs" and conform to the "frame of reference." One of the objectives was the "guaranteeing" of "a supply of teachers more competent to carry out the philosophy and purpose here presented."

Educational Journalism To Promote Collectivism

"Educational journalism" was expected to follow the same line. And, continues the Report,

it is important that "the spirit" of its "frame of reference" be "understood and appreciated" in order to "facilitate the fulfillment of the *Commission's* offering."

This Committee finds the document from which we have quoted an astounding piece of work. We cannot understand how a foundation, Carnegie in this instance, administering funds dedicated to a public trust and made free of taxation by the grace of the people, could justify itself in having supported such a program. Is this what foundation executives refer to when they assert the right of foundations to "experiment" and to use "risk capital" to reach "new horizons?" These same men caution Congress against any regulation or control which would deprive them of the freedom to use foundation funds as they, the supposed elite, see fit. We wonder whether they have merited that confidence. We wonder whether our society can afford to let them "experiment" with our institutions—whether we the people of the United States can afford the "risk"!

Traditional American Principles Must Be Abandoned

The aggregate import of this document financed by the *Carnegie Corporation* was that our American way of life was a failure; that it must give way to a collectivist society; that educators must now prepare the public for a New Order; and traditional American principles must be abandoned. In his filed statement, Mr. Dollard, President of the *Carnegie Corporation* says: "*The Corporation regards its entire program as 'pro-American'.*" We do not so regard the product in which it invested hundreds of thousands of dollars of public-dedicated money.

An Educational Program For A Socialist America

The late Congressman Shafer and his collaborator, Mr. Snow, expressed their view of this foundation-supported Report in *The Turning of the Tides*:

"A strategic wedge was driven in 1934 following the *Conclusions and Recommendations of the American Historical Association's Commission on Social Studies*.

"Its point of entry was adroitly chosen. The Commission proposed to consolidate the traditional high school subjects of geography, economics, sociology, political science, civics and history, into a single category designated as the 'social studies'. Here was the most strategic of all teaching areas for the advancement of a particular philosophy.

"Success in enlisting teachers in this field in the cause of a 'new social order' would have an influence out of all proportion to the number of teachers involved.

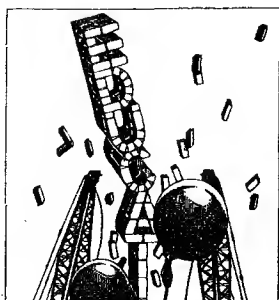
"What this all meant was summed up by Professor Harold J. Laski, philosopher of British socialism. He stated:

" 'At bottom, and stripped of its carefully neutral phrases, the report is an educational program for a socialist America.' " [Emphasis supplied.] (Hearings, p. 480.)

Carnegie Corporation Praises Program of Socialism

The reader who would excuse *The Carnegie Corporation* from responsibility for the report of its agent, *The American Historical Association* on the ground that it merely provided the funds for the study project, must reconcile this viewpoint, so assiduously nurtured by foundation spokesmen, with the fact that the annual report of the President and Treasurer of *The Carnegie Corporation of New York* for 1933-4 not only endorsed but lauded this program of socialism:

"That its (the Commission's) findings were not unanimously supported within the Commission itself, and that they are already the subject of vigorous debate outside it, does not detract from their importance, and both the educational world and the public at large owe a debt of gratitude both to the Association for having sponsored this important and timely study in a field of peculiar difficulty, and to the distinguished men and women who served upon the Commission."



According to *The Carnegie Corporation*, the public owes a debt of gratitude for the production of a document of tremendous influence in the educational field promoting socialism!

Free Enterprise System Must Be Completely Destroyed

It must not be concluded that the report referred to was an accidental or incidental thing, the product of one isolated group, the opinion of a tiny fraction of the foundation-financed intellectual world. The following quotation is from *Education for the New America*, by Willard E. Given, in the Proceedings of the 72nd Annual Meeting of *The National Education Association*:

"A dying laissez-faire must be completely destroyed and all of us, including the 'owners' must be subjected to a large degree of social control. A large section of our discussion group, accepting the conclusions of distinguished students, maintain that in our fragile, interdependent society the credit agencies, the basic industries and utilities cannot be centrally planned and operated under private ownership." [Hearings, p. 482.]

Nor was Mr. Givens himself an isolated person acting solely on his own. He was executive secretary of the *NEA* from 1935 to 1952 and was given its award in 1953 for his "many contributions to the field of education" which were deemed "without parallel."

In the *Agenda of Democracy*, by C. E. Merriam, vice-chairman of the *National Resources Planning Board* and for many years the leading figure in *The Social Science Research Council*, the author wrote:

"The days of little-restricted laissez-faire, the days when government was looked upon as a necessary evil—these have gone for a long time, perhaps forever, although in the mutations of time one never knows what forms may recur." [Hearings, p. 482.]

Example after example can be given of the widespread expression, by persons connected with or financed by foundations, of approving conviction that free enterprise was dead and a new order must be ushered in, an order of collectivism.

The President's Commission On Higher Education

The Commission on Higher Education appointed by the President produced a report in the form of six pamphlets in 1947. The President of *The American Council of Learned Societies* was Chairman of this Commission. The reports gave credit to *The American Council of Learned Societies*, *The American Council on Education*, *The American Association of University Professors* and *The Association of Land Grant Colleges and Universities* for aid received.

This report emphasized that higher education must be guided to help usher in the new society. Not only was the domestic scene to be changed by a concerted effort on the part of the intellectual leaders of the nation, but we were to be led toward world citizenship as well. The Report of the *President's Commission on Higher Education* contained this statement:

PREPARATION FOR WORLD CITIZENSHIP

"In speed of transportation and communication and in economic interdependence, the nations of the globe are already one world; the task is to secure recognition and acceptance of this oneness in the thinking of the people, as that the concept of one world may be realized psychologically, socially and in good time politically.

"It is this task in particular that challenges our scholars and teachers to lead the way toward a new way of thinking.

* * * * *

"There is an urgent need for a program for world citizenship that can be made a part of every person's general education. (Hearings, p. 483.)

"Social Engineering" and Education

The 1947 Report of the *President's Commission on Higher Education* makes clear that our old friend, the "social engineer", is to lead us into better pastures. It recites:

"It will take social science and social engineering to solve the problems of human relations. Our people must learn to respect the need for special knowledge and technical training in this field as

they have come to defer to the expert in physics, chemistry, medicine, and other sciences." (Hearings, p. 483. [Emphasis supplied.]

The False and Dangerous Concept of Social Engineering

The people are no longer to direct their own welfare. "Scientists" must be trained to lead us, to "engineer" us into that better world, domestic and international, which only these experts are capable of determining. It would, of course, be foolish to discount the valuable aid which specialists can give in the advancement of human knowledge and the development of a better society. But the concept of "social engineering" is one with which this Committee has no sympathy. It is again the concept of an elite group determining what is good for the people; it smacks so closely of the fascist principle of a guiding party that we find it distasteful and indigestible. That the governing party might be composed of presumed scientists does not make it a more palatable dish. Moreover, there is evidence enough in the record that the "social sciences" are not sciences and the "social scientists" cannot fairly compare themselves with the experts in physics, chemistry, medicine, and other sciences. *There is something completely false, as well as highly dangerous, in the entire concept of "social engineering."*

Colleges Need To Accelerate Social Revolution

The presumption of it all is quite astounding. The same report contains this statement:

"Colleges must accelerate the normal slow rate of social change which the educational system reflects; we need to find ways quickly of making the understanding and vision of our most farsighted and sensitive citizens the common possession of all our people." (Hearings, pp. 483, 484.)

"Social Scientists" Misleadingly Bear the Title of Scientist

Who are these "most farsighted and sensitive citizens" who are to use the colleges and universities to accelerate the "normally slow rate of social change?" They are, of course, the intellectual elite, the foundation-financed, self-appointed "social

engineers" who misleadingly bear the title of "scientist" by carrying the label of "social" scientists. "We need", says the report, "men in education who can apply at the point of social action what the social scientist has discovered regarding the laws of human behavior." The basic laws of human behavior have not been "discovered" by self-designated "scientists" but by great philosophers and ethical leaders. We doubt that the social-scientific mind can be relied upon to discover, by inductive methods and quantitative measurement, such laws of human behavior as may be sound determinants in delineating a new society.

Teachers Must Seize Power And Operate Education As The Instrument of Social Regeneration

"Certainly", continues the report, "the destiny of mankind today rests as much with the social sciences as with the natural sciences." That Statement may well be doubted. What is more serious is that these "social scientists" who subscribed to the point of view expressed do not truly mean that the solution rests in science. They do mean that it rests in their own opinions and predilections. That is evidenced by the following quotations from an article in *Progressive Education* for January-February, 1934 by Horace M. Kallen, a member of the *President's Commission*, entitled "Can We Be Saved by Indoctrination?":

"I find, within the babel of plans and plots against the evils of our times, one only which does not merely repeat the past but varies from it. This is a proposal that the country's pedagogues shall undertake to establish themselves as the country's saviors. It appears in two pamphlets. The first is a challenge to teachers entitled, 'Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?'; Its author is George Counts. The second is, 'A Call to the Teachers of the Nation.'

"With an imagination unparalleled among the saviors of civilization, with a faith stronger than every doubt and an earnestness overruling all irony, Mr. Counts suggests that the Great Revolution might be better accomplished and the Great Happiness more quickly established if the teachers rather than the proletarians seized power.

"Having taken power, the teachers must use it to attain the 'central purpose' of realizing the 'American Dream.' They must operate education as the instrument of social regeneration. This consists of inculcating right doctrine. (Hearings, p. 484.)

Social Scientist Should Be Given Task of Directing Society

Clearly enough "right doctrine" is what the elite believe in.

A strong proponent of this proposal that the social scientist should be given the task of directing society is Professor Norman Woelfel. His *Molders of the American Minds*, was dedicated "to the teachers of America, active sharers in the building of attitudes, may they collectively choose a destiny which honors only productive labor and promotes the ascendancy of the common man over the forces that make possible an economy of plenty."

Assault On Christianity and Private Business

"The younger generation is on its own and the last thing that would interest modern youth is the salvaging of the Christian tradition. The environmental controls which technologists have achieved, and the operations by means of which workers earn their livelihood, need no aid or sanction from God nor any blessing from the church.

"In the minds of the men who think experimentally, America is conceived as having a destiny which bursts the all too obvious limitations of Christian religious sanctions and of capitalistic profit economy."

"The influence which may prove most effective in promoting the demise of private business as the dominant force in American economic life is the modern racketeer. His activities are constantly in the spotlight of public attention, and the logic upon which he pursues them is the logic of competitive business. He carries the main principles of the business life to their logical extreme and demonstrates their essential absurdity. Like the

businessman he believes in attaining a monopoly by cornering the market whenever possible. *The chief difference between the racketeer and the businessman is that the businessman's pursuits have about them an air of respectability given by customary usage and established law. He may pursue them in the open, advertise them in the public press and over the radio, whereas the racketeer must work undercover.*

Socialistic Objectives For Educators

This Committee wonders whether the phrase "the men who think experimentally" relates to the insistence of many foundation executives that foundation funds must be used as "risk capital," for "experiment." Is this the kind of experiment which the foundations defend? Professor Woelfel makes his own experimental objectives very clear:

"From the vantage point of the present study, the following objectives for educators are suggested. They, in no sense, purport to be all-comprehensive or final. They do, however, lay claim to be along the line of much needed strategy if educational workers are to play any important part in the society which is building in America.

"5. Active participation by educators and teachers in various organizations of the lay public agitating for social reforms whose realization would be in harmony with evolving ideals of American society.

"9. Active participation of individual educators and of professional organizations of educators in the gradually crystallizing public effort to create out of prevailing chaos and confusion in



economic, political, spiritual, ethical, and artistic realms a culture which is under no continuing obligations to past American or foreign cultural pattern.

"11. A system of school administration constructed under the guidance of experimental social philosophy with the major aim of meeting the professional needs of teachers. This implies relegating the elaborate administrative technology modeled after business practice and capitalistic finance to the background where it may be drawn upon when needed in reconstruction programs.

"14. A program of public elementary and secondary education organized in the interest of collective ideals and emphasizing the attainment of economic equality as fundamental to the detailed determination of more broadly cultural aims.

"15. Centralized organization in public education to an extent which will not only guarantee provision of the most valid knowledge together with adequate facilities for incorporating it into educational practice in every local community throughout the country, but promote as well the construction of attitudes, in the populace, conducive to enlightened reconstruction of social institutions.

"16. A program of public vocational, professional, and higher education integrally organized in terms of a social order wherein all natural resources and the entire industrial structure is controlled by governmental agencies and operated for the equal benefit of all. This portends educational planning in terms of broadly cultural and creative motives and the final disappearance of programs of education based upon the motive of individual monetary success.

"20. Gradual abolition of specified grades, subjects, textbooks, testing, and promotion schemes as conceived under the present administrative-supervisory set-up in public education. The development of a series of flexible organizational schemes and teaching programs by local faculties under the guidance and sanction of professional associations and of the lay public.

"21. Domination of all specific teaching aims for an indefinite period by the general aim of rendering the attitudes of all normal individuals toward all the problems of life sufficiently tentative to allow for growth and change." (Hearings, pp. 485, 486.) [Emphasis supplied.]

Utilize Discontent Among Teachers For Benefit of Social Revolution

Professor Woelfel does not mince words. In an article, in *Progressive Education* in 1934 called *The Educator, The New Deal and Revolution* he said:

"The call now is for the utmost capitalization of the discontent manifest among teachers for the benefit of revolutionary social goals. This means that all available energies of radically inclined leaders within the profession should be directed toward the building of a united radical front. Warm collectivist sentiment and intelligent vision, propagated in clever and undisturbing manner by a few individual leaders, no longer suits the occasion."

* * * * *

"If we wish the intelligent utilization of the marvelous natural resources and the superb productive machinery which America possesses, for all of the people, with common privileges, and an equal chance to all for the realization of exclusively human potentialities—that is possible, although we must not blindly shrink from the fact that it may require some use of force against those at present privileged." (Hearings, p. 486.)

Professor Woelfel's call to force indicates the intensity of the messianic impulse of many of the social scientists who contributed to the movement for the reform of society, the financing of which was chiefly supplied by foundation funds.

Education Must Be Utilized To Shape Collectivist Society

In the *Social Frontier*, of which Dr. Counts was editor and Professor Woelfel an associate editor, appeared these remarks in the October 1934 issue:

"In a word, for the American people, the age of individualism in economy is closing and an age

of collectivism is opening. Here is the central and dominating reality in the present epoch."



**Should Make
The Shaping Of A
Collectivist
Society
Its Central Project**

Page 5, Educating for Tomorrow:

"To enable the school to participate in raising the level of American life the educational profession must win meaningful academic freedom, not merely the freedom for individuals to teach this or that, but the freedom of the teaching profession to utilize education in shaping the society of tomorrow." (Hearings, p. 488.)

and

"The task of enlarging the role of education in shaping the future of our collective life cannot be accomplished by individual educators nor by individual institutions. It is a task for an organized profession as a whole. It is a task which the NEA might make its central project." (Hearings, p. 489.)

* * * * *

"We submit to the membership of the NEA that its role in the life of the nation would be greatly enhanced if it identified itself with an ideal of social living which alone can bring the social crisis to a happy resolution—a collectivist and classless society. We further submit that the effectiveness of the NEA would be greatly increased if instead of looking for defenders of education among the ranks of conservative groups, it would identify itself with the underprivileged classes who are the real beneficiaries of public education and who can find their adjustment only in a radically democratic social order." (Hearings, p. 489.)

Tremendous Power of NEA In 1953

Professor Woelfel's appeal to *The National Education Association* is indeed a dangerous one,

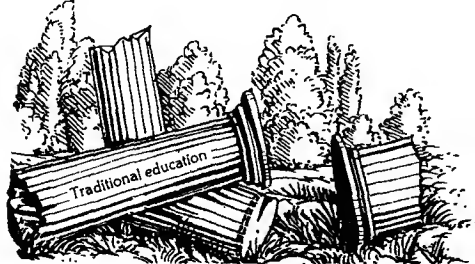
in view of the power of that organization. The 1953 NEA Handbook proclaims that the Association has 490,000 individual members and 950,000 affiliated members; that it consists of 66 state organizations and 4434 Affiliated Associations; that it has 29 departments, 14 Headquarters divisions and 23 Commissions and Committees: It says:

"The National Education Association Is the Only Organization That Represents or Has the Possibility of Representing the Great Body of Teachers in the United States." [Emphasis supplied.]

It thus professes itself to be a monopoly. As it is characteristic of organizations that a small group usually controls, it gives one pause to think what such a powerful organization could do if its leaders listened to voices like that of Professor Woelfel.

The Progressive Education Association

The activities of *The Progressive Association* (for some period called the *American Education Fellowship*) have been strongly in the direction of the promotion of the thesis that the schools should be used as an instrument for social change. This organization, which up to 1943, had received \$4,257,800 from foundations (we do not have a record of subsequent donations) indicated its position in its publication called at various times, *The Social Frontier*, *Frontiers of Democracy*, and *Progressive Education*. In the issue of December 15, 1942, for example, appeared a series of letters by Professor Rugg which constitute a "call to arms." He announces *The Battle for Consent*. The "Consent" is the consent of the governed to accept change, and it is the position of Professor Rugg (of whom, more later) which undoubtedly was supported by *The Progressive Education Association*, that this consent can only be obtained through proper education of the people. They must, we gather, be educated into understanding the necessity for social change as Professor Rugg



believes it should change—then the battle for the new era can be won. Thus the schools are to be a weapon by these agitators for the winning of the war against our institutions.

Evidence of A Conspiracy At Work

There may not have been a (legal) "conspiracy" to change our social and governmental system, but a mass of evidence demonstrates that the most influential formulators of educational thought strenuously attempted to suborn our schools and that heavy contributions from the tax-exempt foundations provided them with effective sounding-boards for their subverting doctrines.

The Foundation-Supported Collectivist Text-Books – The Background

The witness Aaron M. Sargent is a lawyer actively practicing in the State of California, to the bar of which he was admitted in 1926. He testified that he had 27 years' active experience in the practice of law and 17 years "concerned to some extent with anti-subversive work and investigations affecting American education, and particularly the public schools system." He participated in hearings in 1941-42 before the San Francisco City Board of Education in regard to Rugg social science textbooks. At the request of the California Society, *Sons of the American Revolution*, he studied the progressive system of education between 1942 and 1945 and inquired into the textbook condition of the state schools and the State Department of Education in Sacramento.

In 1946 he began an inquiry which led up to proceedings which were brought to Congress on the so-called *Building America* textbooks. He handled these proceedings for the *Sons of the American Revolution* before the State Board of Education in California and California legislative committees. He drafted legislative bills on education and studied the national aspects of this subversive teaching problem. He is the author of a *Bill of Grievances* which was filed with the Judiciary Committee of the United States Senate and the House Committee on Un-American Activities by the *National Society, Sons of the American Revolution*, and conducted the research on which that document was based.

In May, 1952 for a brief period he was employed as a consultant for staff work in research by the Senate Internal Security Committee. In 1952-53 he directed research at the *Hoover Institute at Stanford University on War, Peace and Revolution*. He served for a number of years as Chairman of the Americanization Committee of the National Society, Sons of the American Revolution. He had been approached by Congressman Cox, Chairman of the Cox Committee, to act as Counsel to that Committee.

One Of The Most Important Matters To Ever Come Before Congress

Mr. Sargent testified that in his opinion the investigation of this Committee "is one of the most important matters which has ever come before the Congress of the United States. It concerns the national security, the defense of the principles set forth in the Constitution of the United States. You will find that the situation confronting you is the result of a disregard to trust responsibility—a condition amounting to abdication of duty by the trustees of the tax-exempt foundations which have exerted such a great influence in the history of our country since the turn of the century." (Hearings, p. 198.)

Standards For Foundation Conduct

Mr. Sargent stated in his opinion the following should be the yardstick to be applied to the conduct of foundations:

"Standards of foundation conduct: It is the duty of tax-exempt foundations and their trustees to observe and be guided by the following standards of conduct:

"First: Patriotism. To bear true faith and allegiance to the philosophy and principles of government set forth in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

"Second: Loyalty. To be active and positive in supporting the United States Government against revolutionary and other subversive attacks:

"To put patriotic money at the disposal of patriotic men in this field of education to enable them to support and defend our Constitution and form of government.

"Third: Obedience to law. To faithfully obey the laws of the United States and the provisions of State law under which foundation charters are granted;

"Fourth: Respect for exemption. To use the tax-exemption privilege in good faith, recognizing the purpose for which that privilege is granted;

"To refrain from supporting communism, socialism, and other movements which (1) increase the cost of government, (2) endanger the national security, or (3) threaten the integrity of the Federal Government.

"The fifth standard here is academic responsibility. This is a part of my concept of standards of foundation conduct.

"Academic responsibility requires these foundations to limit their activities to projects which are, in fact, educational, and are conducted in an academically responsible manner in accordance with proper academic standards;

"To refrain from using education as a device for lobbying or a means to disseminate propaganda." (Hearings, pp. 108, 201.)

A Definition of Socialism

In using the term "socialism" Mr. Sargent carefully distinguished this area of criticism, defining the term as follows:

"When I use the term 'socialism,' I refer to the political movement which is known as the Socialist movement. The movement which is working for a general program of planned economy based on nationalization of industry, business, national resources, and credit. The political operation of a nation's economy, not fragmentary things. Politics is something which these foundations are not supposed to go into, and I think they have no right to undermine the basis of their exemption by doing things of that type." (Hearings p. 201.)

The Greatest Betrayal Ever To Occur in American History

Mr. Sargent's testimony concerned itself chiefly with the support by foundations of policies and programs in education of a nature which he deemed destructive of American principles. He narrated



International Newsreel

John Dewey

that a movement began in the United States shortly before the turn of the century, closely related to Fabian socialism, which had previously become established in Great Britain "which has undermined and almost destroyed the economic system of Great Britain." According to Mr. Sargent, a group of American radical intellectuals organized an attack upon patriotism, "challenging basic American philosophy founded on the doctrine of natural law." He asserted that this group sought to slant and distort history and to introduce a new and revolutionary philosophy, based on the teachings of John Dewey. He called this movement "the greatest betrayal which has ever occurred in American history." (Hearings, p. 203) He indicated that one of the most vicious aspects of this betrayal was the attack on the doctrine of unalienable rights and natural law set forth in the Declaration of Independence. (Hearings p. 206.)

Mr. Sargent suggested that foundations had supported a movement to attack the stature and function of the Supreme Court as the bulwark of our judiciary system, pointing out that in October, 1936, before the Presidential election, a group of educators had put in the hands of American school children a school book advocating a plan to pack the Supreme Court of the United States. (Hearings, p. 213.)

He accused the foundations of propaganda in having a consistent policy of always supporting

one side of controversies having political connotations and never supporting the other. The side which the foundations have neglected is the side of conservatism. (Hearings, p. 214.)

Citing the book, *Fabianism in Great Britain*, by Sister Margaret Patricia McCarran, the daughter of Senator McCarran, which narrates the history of Fabianism in England, Mr. Sargent drew a parallel between this movement and its intellectual offspring, the socialist movement in the United States. What he described as the "beachhead" occurred with the organization of *The Intercollegiate Socialist Society* in 1905 under the direction of Jack London, Upton Sinclair and others. This organization... later changed its name to *The League for Industrial Democracy* and exists and operates to this day as a tax-exempt foundation. Branches were installed in many of the major colleges and universities, and persons now well-known were among the leaders of these branch groups, among them Bruce Bliven, Freda Kirchwey, Paul (Senator) Douglas, Kenneth Macgowan, Isadore Lubin, Evans Clark, John Temple Graves, Jr., and others. The purpose of the Society was the active promotion of socialism. (Hearings, p. 220.)

Robert Morss Lovett, a man with a total of 56 Communist front affiliations, became the first president of the *Intercollegiate Socialist League*. (Hearings, pp. 221, 222, 223, 224.)

The Teachings of John Dewey

Mr. Sargent indicated that the movement propelled by this socialist group took over the teaching of John Dewey "who expounded a principle which has become destructive of traditions and has created the difficulties and the confusion, much of it, that we find today. Professor Dewey denied that there was any such thing as absolute truth, that everything was relative, everything was doubtful, that there were no basic values and nothing which was specifically true." With this philosophy, Mr. Sargent points out, "you automatically wipe the slate clean, you throw historical experience and background to the wind and you begin all over again, which is just exactly what the Marxians want someone to do." John Dewey, said Mr. Sargent was a "gift from the Gods to the radicals." His teachings brought on attacks on American tradition and on patriotism. (Hearings, p. 217.)

Denial of Theory of Natural Rights

A natural consequence of this movement to reject tradition was an undermining of the doctrine of inalienable rights proclaimed by the Declaration of Independence and a denial of the theory of natural rights upon which our government is based.

Promoting The Philosophy of John Dewey

According to Mr. Sargent, the philosophy of John Dewey had appeared just about the time when John D. Rockefeller established his first foundation, *The General Education Board* in 1902. It was an era of reform agitation; and reform was badly needed in several areas of our economic and social life. The socialists, cryptosocialists and collectivists then took hold of the Dewey philosophy and spread it, taking advantage of the existing discontent to make considerable inroads in academic fields. *The National Education Association*, another tax-free organization, also began to promote the Dewey philosophy.

Mr. Sargent narrated that, in 1916 the Department of Educational Research was established at Teachers College, Columbia University. Under its direction, *The Lincoln School* was established in 1917, and this "kindled the fire which helped to spread progressive education." The quotation is from a pamphlet issued by *Teachers College* itself. The same pamphlet states that John D. Rockefeller made available \$100,000 per year for ten years for Teachers College through *The International Education Board*, to establish and maintain an *International Institute* at the College. It also recorded, among other things, that a Dr. George S. Counts had been made Associate Director of the *Institute* a few years before 1923. (Hearings, pp. 252, 253.) Reference will later be made to the opinions of Dr. Counts. Suffice it to record here that his work proceeded with *Rockefeller Foundation* financing.

Socialism Instigated By Intellectuals At Top

Mr. Sargent pointed out that the period under discussion was one of growing intellectual radicalism, citing the statement of Professor Von Mises

that socialism does not spring from the people but is a program instigated by special types of intellectuals "that form themselves into a clique and bore from within and operate that way. * * * It is not a people's movement at all. It is a capitalizing on the people's emotions and sympathies and skillfully directing those sympathies toward a point these people wish to reach." (Hearings p. 254.)



The Rugg Textbooks

Among these intellectuals was Professor Harold Rugg, who began issuing pamphlets in the *Lincoln Experimental School* as early as 1920. The Rugg pamphlets subsequently were developed into what came to be known as the *Rugg Social Science Textbook Series*. About five million of these books had been put into the American public schools. Yet their character may be assessed through a proceeding before the San Francisco Board of Education as a result of which a panel of highly competent men was appointed to evaluate the Rugg books: the Provost of the University of California, professors at Mills College, the University of San Francisco and Stanford University, and a member of the Bar.

Recommendation That Rugg Textbooks Be Banned

The report of this panel was unanimous; it recommended that the Rugg textbooks be barred. The Report is well-worth reading. (Hearings, p. 256, et seq.) It condemns the *Rugg* books for advocating the principle that "it is one of the functions of the school, indeed it appears at times to be the chief function, to plan the future of society. From this view we emphatically dissent. Moreover, the books contain a constant emphasis on our national defects. Certainly we should think it a great mistake to picture our nation as perfect or flawless either in its past or its present, but it is our conviction that these books give a decidedly distorted impression through overstressing weaknesses and injustices. They therefore tend to weaken the student's love for his country, respect for its past and confidence in its future."

The Motivation of Professor Rugg

One of the members of the panel, Mr. McKinnon, added:

"What Professor Rugg is trying to do is to achieve a social reconstruction through education. The end in view is a new social order in which all the aspects of human relationships, including the political and economic, are to be refashioned and rebuilt. The means by which this end is to be accomplished is education.

* * * * *

"The lack of underlying assumption of moral law which is inherent in human nature and which is the norm of good conduct, of happiness, and of socially desirable traits, is evident throughout the texts. Professor Rugg, of course rejects such an idea of law.

* * * * *

"Nothing is more insistent in the books than the idea of change. From the habit of denying facts and fixed realities, Professor Rugg proceeds to the motion of trial and error in all human affairs. One is never sure one is right. Since everything changes, there is nothing upon which one can build with permanence. Experiment is the rule in social affairs as well as in physical science—experiment in government, in education, in economics, and in family life.

* * * * *

"Throughout the books runs an antireligious bias." (Hearings, p. 259.)

Joining his fellow panel-members in the unanimous decision to bar the Rugg Books, Mr. McKinnon added:

"America, in spite of all its faults, has achieved something in the history of social and political life which has borne rich fruit and which may bear richer provided we do not lose the thread. But this is the condition: provided we do not lose the thread.

"What is that thread? It is the concept upon which our country was founded, that man is a rational being who possesses rights and duties." (Hearings, p. 260.)

Professor Rugg's Philosophy Contravenes Declaration of Independence

Mr. McKinnon continued that Professor Rugg's philosophy contravened the principles of the Declaration of Independence. Mr. McKinnon said:

"It is true that social conditions and circumstances change. The point is that the principles themselves do not change, for they are inherent in the nature of man, a nature which does not change." (Hearings, p. 260.)



George S. Counts

Dr. Counts and Others

It was *Rockefeller* money which had made possible this attempt by Professor Rugg, and those who agreed with his thesis, to use the schools as an active force for social and political change. This Committee wonders whether those who provided the money for such a movement acted in ignorance or with intention.

Nor was Professor Rugg alone. Among others who employed foundation largess in their attempt to introduce radical social and political change through the use of the school, was the Dr. Counts to whom we have previously referred. In his pamphlet, *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order*, published in 1932, a composition of addresses made to *The Progressive Education Association* in Washington and *The National Council of Education* in Washington, Dr. Counts advocated "education through indoctrination." The pamphlet is a call for action: education must be "emancipated" from the influence of the "conservative class"; "it is a fallacy that the school shall be impartial in its emphasis and that no bias should be given to instruction"; "Progressive education wishes to build a new world but refuses to be held accountable for the kind of world it builds."

Progressive-Minded Teachers Encouraged To Unite in A Powerful Militant Organization

In 1933 *The Progressive Education Association*, a foundation, supported in part by other foundations, issued a pamphlet called *A Call to The Teachers of the Nation*. It was prepared by a committee of which Dr. Counts was chairman. It contained this:

"The progressive minded teachers of the country must unite in a powerful organization militantly devoted to the building of a better social order, in the defense of its members against the ignorance of the masses and the malevolence of the privileged. Such an organization would have to be equipped with the material resources, the talent, the legal talent, and the trained intelligence to wage successful war in the press, the courts, and the legislative chambers of the nation. To serve the teaching profession in this way should be one of the major purposes of the Progressive Education Association."

This Committee wonders whether anyone would seriously assert that such proposed conduct is properly encouraged by a tax-free foundation supported by other tax-free foundations. There can be little doubt that Dr. Counts' call to action was answered, and answered with foundation funds.

Progressive Education Association Sponsors Known Communists

It seems reasonable that one be known somewhat by the company one keeps. *The Progressive Education Association* (which had changed its name from the *American Education Fellowship*) publishes a magazine, *Progressive Education*. Its November, 1947 issue has a lead article by John J. DeBoer, the president of the organization, in which he recites that at the 1947 convention there were such speakers as W. E. B. Dubois (whose Communist front record is well-known) and Langston Hughes, a Communist. It is very edifying to learn that this educational organization was addressed by Hughes, the author of the notorious poem, "Goodbye Christ", which contains sentiments such as this:

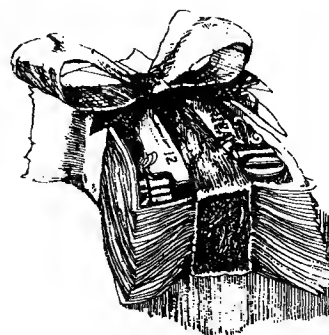
"Goodbye,
Christ Jesus Lord God Jehova,
Beat it on away from here now.
Make way for a new guy with no religion at all—
A real guy named
Marx, Communist Lenin, Peasant Stalin,
Worker Me—"

A Call For A National And International System of Socialism

In the same issue of the magazine there is an article by Theodore Brameld entitled "A New Policy for A.E.F." (the American Education Fellowship). This article contains a resolution which was adopted at the 1947 convention and contains these interesting proposals:

"1. To channel the energies of education toward the reconstruction of the economic system, a system which should be geared with the increasing socialization and public controls now developing in England, Sweden, New Zealand, and other countries; a system in which national and international planning of production and distribution replaces the chaotic planlessness of traditional 'free enterprise'; a system in which the interests, wants and needs of the consumer dominate those of the producer; a system in which natural resources, such as coal and iron ore, are owned and controlled by the people, a system in which public corporations replace monopolistic enterprises and privately owned 'public' utilities; a system in which federal authority is synchronized with decentralized regional and community administration; a system in which social security and a guaranteed annual wage sufficient to meet scientific standards of nourishment, shelter, clothing, health, recreation, and education, are universalized; a system in which the majority of the people is the sovereign determinant of every basic economic policy.

(Cont. next page)



World Citizenship To Be Equal To Natural Citizenship

"II. To channel the energies of education toward the establishment of genuine international authority in all crucial issues affecting peace and security; an order therefore in which all weapons of war (including atomic energy, first of all) and police forces are finally under that authority; an order in which international economic planning, of trade, resources, labor distribution and standards, is practiced, parallel with the best standards of individual nations; an order in which . . . races and religions receive equal rights in its democratic control; an order in which 'world citizenship' thus assumes at least equal status with national citizenship." [Emphasis supplied.]



Liberal Educators Encouraged To Give Serious Consideration To Methodology of Marx

The same Theodore Brameld, writing in *Science and Society* in 1936, had said:

"The thesis of this article is simply that liberal educators who look towards collectivism as a way out of our economic, political, and cultural morass must give more serious consideration than they have thus far to the methodology of Marx. . . . The possibility remains that ultimately they will agree with the value of Marxian philosophy not only methodologically but systematically as well. But at present what they need especially to consider in devising a strong and skillful strategy to cross the social frontier of a new America, is whether Marxism has not less but rather more—much more—to offer than as yet they willingly admit." [Emphasis supplied.]

Introducing Communist Experiments in Education in America

Now let us return to Dr. Counts.

And what was this new social order of which *The Progressive Education Association* was to become a leader? Dr. Counts became a member of the American Advisory Organization connected with the summer sessions at Moscow University. The purpose of this Organization was to introduce American teachers and students to the new education methods used in Soviet Russia. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Dr. Counts, and perhaps some of his associates were very sympathetic to the Communist experiments in education and willing enough to have them introduced into America. (Hearings, p. 266, et seq.) Mr. Sargent gave this as his opinion:

"My comments are that this document shows a framework of a complete system of indoctrination of American educators which could only be put together on the theory of their receiving such indoctrination and coming back here and introducing it into our school system. It even includes the reflexology item I just referred to, including materials on Pavlov, who was the author of the principles of brain washing." (Hearings, p. 283.)

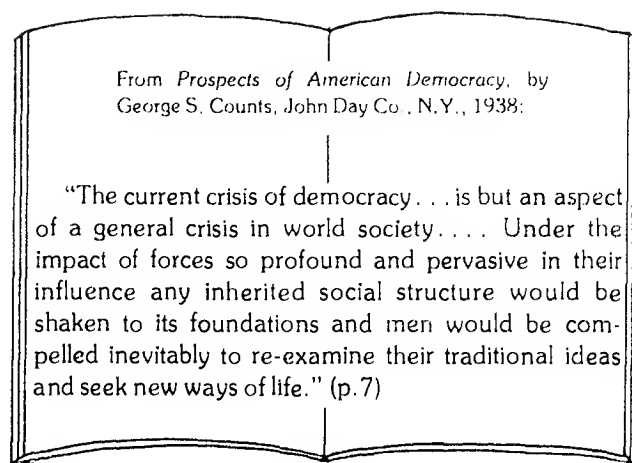
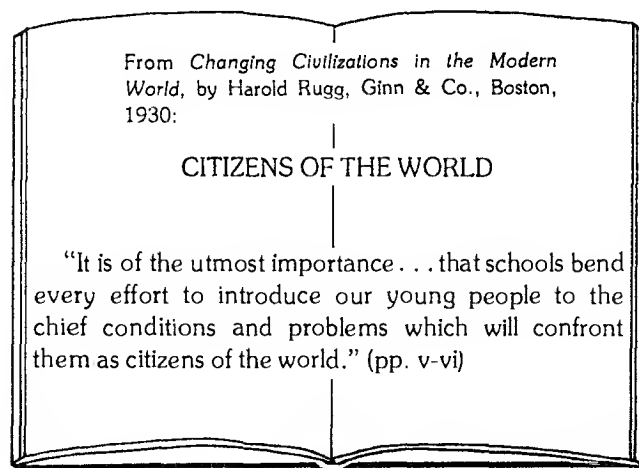
Soviet Official Congratulates Dr. Counts on Pamphlet

Dr. Counts' interest in things Russian was evident by several of his books, among them *The Soviet Challenge to America*. His work had the approval of the Russians, witness the February 1933 issue of the *Progressive Education Journal*, the official organ of the foundation known as *The Progressive Education Association*, which contained an article in which reference was made to a letter written by Johannson I. Zilberfarb, a member of the State Scientific Council and Commissariat of Education of the Soviet Union. This was a letter to Dr. Counts congratulating him on *Dare the School Build a New Social Order*, and the "remarkable progress you have made in challenging capitalism." He added "May I be so bold as to hope that your profound and consistent attack on the social order in your country will eventually lead you to a complete emancipation from American exclusiveness and intellectual messiahship so aptly exposed in your pamphlet, thus enabling you to consider all social progress from a universal proletarian point of view." (Hearings, p. 285.)

Converting Schools Into Vehicles For Radical Social Change

Professor Rugg and Dr. Counts cannot lightly be dismissed as incidental examples of those "rare and inevitable mistakes" confessed by the foundations—on the contrary, both of these gentlemen appear by the evidence to be typical spearheads of the foundation-supported movement to convert our schools into vehicles for radical social change. Dr. Counts, it should be noted, was among the signatories of the *Conclusions and Recommendations* of the *Commission on Special Studies of the American Historical Association*. We have already discussed it in detail, but Mr. Sargent's testimony on the *Conclusions and Recommendations* is particularly significant:

"What these gentlemen propose to do is set forth in their chapter at the end talking about next steps. It says that it is first to awaken and consolidate leadership around the philosophy and purpose of education expounded in the report. That *The American Historical Association* in co-operation with the *National Council on the Social Studies* has arranged to take over the magazine, *The Outlook*, as a social science journal for teachers. That writers of textbooks are to be expected to revamp and rewrite their old works in accordance with this frame of reference. That makers of programs in social sciences in cities and towns may be expected to evaluate the findings. That it is not too much to expect in the near future a decided shift in emphasis from mechanics and methodology to the content and function of courses in the social studies. That is the gist of it.



"This report became the basis for a definite slanting in the curriculum by selecting certain historical facts and by no longer presenting others, * * *". (Hearings, pp. 287 et seq.)

It seems undeniable that these *Conclusions and Recommendations* of the *American Historical Association* played a great part in the campaign to slant education by playing down American traditions, thus paving the way for radical social change, and other foundations and foundation-supported enterprises joined in this campaign.

Total Control of Press Encouraged

In *The Progressive Education Magazine* of May, 1946 appeared an article by Norman Woelfel in which he stated:

"It might be necessary paradoxically for us to control our press as the Russian press is controlled and as the Nazi press is controlled." (Hearings, p. 292.)

Progressive Education Movement A Vehicle for Thought Control

The analogy with Russian methods seems pretty close. It was the purpose of the Communists in Russia (as it is the purpose of every totalitarianism) to condition youth to accept the new state. Radical educators in the United States such as Dr. Woelfel, Dr. Counts, and Dr. Rugg, and there were many others, proposed a method quite similar. There is even some evidence to indicate that the progressive education movement itself was intended to be a vehicle for this form of thought control. (Hearings, p. 302.)

The League For Industrial Democracy

We have discussed another evident instrument of this movement to condition the American mind toward social change, namely *The League for Industrial Democracy*. Mr. Sargent in his testimony referred to a letter written by Harry W. Laidler, secretary of this organization, on September 9, 1935 which was a blueprint of their specific plans.

"As to plans for the immediate future—we must launch student organization everywhere and at once, early in the college and high school year. We must build up the lecture circuits in new centers. We must arrange various radio programs. We must complete the pamphlets begun in the summer. These are preliminary to establishing a new research service which we believe will double the amount of research produced and reach a much larger audience than we have had in the past. The Chicago office, with a plan for extended work in the metropolitan area, is ready to reopen. The emergency committee for strikers relief will be called upon to renew its efforts on behalf of the sharecroppers who are about to undertake a cotton pickers strike.

"In addition to our major program, the L.I.D. continues its work of active cooperation with other groups. By arrangement with the New Beginning group, which carries on underground work in Germany, one of its leaders is to come to America under our auspices. With several defense organizations we are undertaking a campaign to widen the support for Angelo Herndon; we are active on the Sacramento defense committee to fight the criminal syndicalism laws in California. Other joint efforts find the L.I.D. actively participating." (Hearings, p. 306.)

The Building America Textbooks

The story of the *Building America* textbooks is as good an example as any of the attempt by radical educators financed by foundations to suborn the schools. *The General Education Board of Rockefeller* provided over \$50,000 to assist in the development of this series of textbooks. (Hearings, p. 309) It is impossible to believe that those in this Foundation who authorized the work did not appreciate what its significance could be. The 1940 Annual Report of *The General Education Board*

describes the "project" in some detail and anticipates that it will cover such subjects as "planning and natural resources", "personal security and self-development", "free enterprise and collectivism", etc.

Subversive Textbooks Promoted By N.E.A.

Mr. Sargent pointed out instance after instance in which the attempt was made to destroy our traditions and to use the schools for political propaganda. (Hearings, p. 311, et seq.) *Yet these books were taken over by the National Education Association and promoted broadly for use in the schools.*

These NEA sponsored books came under severe criticism in the State of California where, as a result of a proceeding, they were barred from the California schools. The report of the Senate Investigating Committee on Education of the California Legislature, known as the Dilworth Committee, severely condemned these books and labeled them as subtle attempts to play up Marxism and to destroy our traditions. Interesting quotations from the report of this Committee are to be found on page 315 of the Hearings and elsewhere.

The legislative report listed the many front organizations of some of the authors of reference material in these books, among them Anna Louise Strong, Albert Rhys, and Allen Roberts. One cannot read the quotations from these books and the comments of the California legislative committee as contained in the testimony of Mr. Sargent (Hearings, p. 309 et seq.), without coming to the conclusion that *these books promoted by the National Education Association and financed by the Rockefeller Foundation contained vicious, radical propaganda in substantial degree.*

Social Science Curriculum Allows Schools To Be Utilized For Propaganda

Part of the plan of the radical educators financed by foundations was apparently to combine various courses, history, geography, etc. into a new course generally known as "social studies." This mechanism assisted them in using the schools for propaganda. Later, borrowing a Communist

term, the combined courses were sometimes called "core studies". Mr. Sargent pointed out that there was a blackout in history in California for a long period. No history books were furnished by the Department of Education from 1928 to almost 1940. It was not until a legislative investigation that history books were furnished as required by law. The *Building America* books apparently took their place.

Attack On Founding Fathers

The books, along with a great amount of propaganda, lampooned some of our great traditional figures such as Lincoln and Jefferson and in contrast exhibited Stalin in friendly light. The Dilworth Committee was profoundly shocked at the presence of a cartoon showing President Lincoln burying the Constitution. Nothing was provided to teach the children that Lincoln was a noble and inspiring character. As the Dilworth Committee said:

"Nothing so vividly illustrates the change in attitude of some of our national educational leaders in some policy-forming positions of the National Education Association of professional educators and teachers as this about-face toward the memory of Abraham Lincoln who lived and labored 'That government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth.'"

(Hearings, p. 319.)

Building America Textbooks Designed By Known Socialists And Communists

It could not have been coincidence that the Dilworth Committee

"found among other things that 113 Communist front organizations had to do with some of the material in these books and that 50 Communist-front authors were connected with it. Among the authors are Sidney and Beatrice Webb, identified with the Fabian Socialist Movement in Great Britain." (Hearings, p. 319.)

One of the basic components of the *Building America* textbooks was a pamphlet entitled the *American Way of Business*, by Oscar Lange and Abba P. Lerner. Both have been beneficiaries of Rockefeller fellowships. Both have been collectiv-

ists for a long time. Oscar P. Lange, a professor at the University of Chicago under Robert Maynard Hutchins, renounced his American citizenship in Warsaw in order to accept appointment as ambassador to the United Nations from Communist dominated Poland. It would be difficult for the *National Education Association* or the *Rockefeller Foundation* to convince the average American citizen that the "American way of business" should be taught to the American school child by Messrs. Lange and Lerner. The following are quotations from this piece of literature widely promoted for use in our schools:

* * * * *

"The idea of abolishing private enterprise came from socialist thinkers who believed that this change would actually further the development and freedom of the individual."

* * * * *

"Public enterprise must become a major constituent of our economy, if we are really going to have prosperity."

* * * * *

"It is necessary to have public ownership of banking and credit (investment banks and insurance companies.)"

* * * * *

"A publicly owned banking and credit system alone is compatible with the flexibility of capital value necessary to maintain competitive standards in production and trade."

* * * * *

"It is necessary to have public ownership of monopolistic key industries. . . . The legal basis for public ownership of such industries should be provided by an amendment to the anti-trust laws, providing that in cases of proved repetition of monopolistic practices and impossibility of correcting the situation on the basis of private enterprise, the companies in question should be transferred into public ownership and operated on the 'principle of public service.'"

* * * * *

"It is necessary to have public ownership of basic natural resources (mines, oil fields, timber, coal, etc.)"

* * * * *

"in order to insure that the public corporations act in accordance with the competitive 'rules of the game,' special economic court (enjoying the same independence as the courts of justice) might be established... and that the economic court be given the power to repeal any rules of Congress, of legislatures, or of the municipal councils. . . ."

The *Building America* textbooks are apparently still used in some of the schools. They are being used in Arlington, Virginia and in Maryland right now. (Hearings, p. 320.)

N.E.A. Actively Smearing Opponents To Collectivism

Mr. Sargent introduced evidence that *The National Education Association* in the anxiety of its leaders to promote a "progressivism" in education along radical lines has been aggressive in its "smearing" of Americans who opposed its policies (Hearings, p. 321, et seq.), has engaged in extensive lobbying and interfered substantially with the local jurisdiction of school authorities.

Chief Support for Subversion of America Comes From Rockefeller, Carnegie And Ford Foundations

Mr. Sargent testified that in his opinion the chief support for the radical movement in education had come from the *Rockefeller, Carnegie and Ford Foundations*.

Mr. Sargent: "*The Rockefeller Foundation* has actively promoted and supported the injection and the propagation of the so-called John Dewey system of experimental education and had aided the introduction of Communist practices in our school system and is defending and supporting the continuance of those practices in the schools."

Mr. Hays: "That is the *Rockefeller Foundation*?"

Mr. Sargent: "Yes, sir, and also the *General Education Board* and the *International Education Institute*.

"*Carnegie* has aided it through various grants;

both of them incidentally are carrying on a lobby and a very extensive lobby, involving the schools which I will testify about this afternoon.

"*The Ford Foundation* has become the lobby which has interfered or is interfering with the integrity of local schools and is promoting world federalism and world federal government, among other things, and extending its power into many areas capable of being dangerous." (Hearings, p. 337.)

Practically No Material Available To Support Free Enterprise and Constitutional Government

Many have pointed out that few of the major foundations do much, if anything, in the way of an affirmative defence of existing institutions. The witness, Mr. Sargent, testified that he had written to 115 text book publishers throughout the country to determine "what materials were available for instructing students and adult groups desiring to study the propaganda and activities of socialist and communist organizations, or for the study of the economic, financial and political and constitutional effects of Fabian Socialism and the social welfare state." (Hearings, p. 387.) He stated that the substance of the replies was "that practically no material of this kind was available by any of these publishers." He submitted supporting data to the Committee. It would be interesting to aggregate the total funds poured by foundations into the dissemination of leftist propaganda and compare it with the tiny trickle which flowed into an exposition of the fallacies and frailties of collectivism.

The Ford Fund for the Advancement of Education

... The Testimony of Prof. Thomas H. Briggs (Record, p. 94 et seq.) indicates that a thorough investigation of this unit of the *Ford Foundation* is highly desirable. Prof. Briggs (now retired) was one of our most eminent educators. He was selected by the *Ford Fund* as a member of its Advisory Committee and resigned in disgust at its policies and principles. He testified, moreover, that although the *Fund* had expressed gratefulness to the Advisory Committee for its help, that Committee had really not been consulted at all in any significant manner.

A Dialectical Examination of Western Thought

Among the projects of *The Ford Fund for the Advancement of Education* which would bear scrutiny is its support of the *Institute for Philosophical Research*, San Francisco, California. The 1952 annual report of *The Ford Foundation* states that one of the problems upon which it would concentrate is a "clarification of educational philosophy." In the same report appears this:

"A more fundamental and long-range approach to clarifying the philosophical questions basic to education in the United States is being made by the Institute of Philosophic Research, supported jointly by the Fund and the Old Dominion Foundation. The Institute is undertaking, with the counsel and participation of leading thinkers, to clarify the whole body of Western thought. It hopes, thereby, to foster a community of understanding that will make discussion about fundamental issues more intelligible."

The annual report of *The Fund for the Advancement of Education* reports a three year grant of \$656,000 to the *Institute* and notes that it is to be under the direction of Mr. Mortimer Adler. The project is there described as

"Undertaking a dialectical examination of Western humanistic thought with a view to providing assistance in the clarification of basic philosophical and educational issues in the modern world."

The Trend Toward Socialism Began With President Wilson

That this project deserves attention is witnessed by the well-known radical opinions of Mr. Adler, its director. In the January, 1949 issue of *Common Cause*, Mr. Adler had an article entitled *The Quiet Revolution*, in which he said:

The basic trend toward socialism, which began with Wilson's New Freedom, and which was greatly accelerated by Roosevelt's New Deal, has been confirmed by Truman's return to the presidency on a platform which does not yield an inch to the right and in many respects goes further to the left. That fact suggests the possibility that some form of socialism—may prove to be the middle ground between the free enterprise capital-

ism and the oligarchical politics of the 'economic royalists' on the one hand, and the dictatorship of the proletariat and the despotism of the party on the other."

The Revolution Is Irreversible And An Accomplished Fact

The following is from the same article by the man selected to direct "a dialectical examination of Western thought" to the tune of over a half-million dollars of *Ford Foundation* (public) money:

"It all adds up to a clear picture. It looks like a quiet but none the less effective revolution. If we still wish to be cautious we need say no more than that we have reached a turning point in American politics at which it has become evident that the general social process of the last twenty years is irreversible—except by force. By choice the American people are never going to fall back to the right again. That deserves to be called a revolution accomplished. But it is also a revolution which will continue. Either the Democratic Party will move further to the left or a new political party will form to the left of the Democrats."

An Inevitable Conclusion—Schools Utilized To Promote Socialism

...The evidence forces the conclusion that the movement which resulted in the use of the school systems to change our social order was basically socialistic in nature. Its purpose was to turn educators into political agitators. The term "collectivism" was frequently used by the organs and agents of the movement. That term will do as well as "socialism" if one prefers to use it. Some organizations and individuals promoting the movement were not abashed at using the bare term "socialism." (Official Report, Special Committee To Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations And Comparable Organizations, December 16, 1954, House Report No. 2681, pp. 134-167) □

The Reece Committee Staff Report
On Relations Between

Foundations And Government

By Thomas M. McNiece
Assistant Research Director, Reece Committee

Introduction

Before beginning a discussion of the relationships between foundations and government, it should be understood by all that we realize that we are entering the sensitive area of political controversy. One reason for mentioning this at this time is that we wish it to be understood that we are limiting our analysis of the conditions as we shall describe them, first to documented statements from the sources quoted and second, in the economics section of the report to statistical information available in the Government's own publications.

The economic facts seem to substantiate the conclusion that many of the proposals advanced by the planners and deemed experimental by some and questionable by others have been put into practice and are a part of our everyday lives as we are now living them. Congressional appropriations and governmental expenditures indicate this. While these facts seem to speak for themselves, there are certain interpretations which we shall make especially with reference to future conditions if we choose to continue these collectivistic ventures.

In these conclusions we are taking no partisan political position, nor do we wish to encourage or support any other attitude than this.

Our interest in these problems as they affect the state of the Nation and its future far exceeds our interest in any form of political preferment.

Now, this section of the manuscript report is headed, "Relationships Between Foundations and Government." It is particularly concerned with the national and social planning. . . .

Centrally Controlled Economy Urged

From the beginning, the Socialist programs have called for national ownership and planning of productive facilities.

Such references are frequent and clear. Perhaps the following quotation from Engels, friend and contemporary of Marx, may illustrate the point.

"The planless production of capitalist society capitulates before the planned production of the invading Socialist society."

To emphasize the reiteration of this concept by a

responsible body of men in our own times and country, we may again refer to a paragraph from the report of the Commission on Social Studies. After 5 years of deliberation they say (American Historical Association, Committee on Social Studies, p. 16):

"Under the molding influence of socialized processes of living, drives of technology and science, pressures of changing thought and policy, and disrupting impacts of economic disaster, there is a notable waning of the once widespread popular faith in economic individualism; and leaders in public affairs, supported by a growing mass of the population, are demanding the introduction into economy of ever wider measures of planning and control."

In what way has this expression of belief found its way into our governmental activities?

The National Planning Board Urges Adoption of Socialism In U.S.

In 1933, the National Planning Board was formed. How did it look upon its tasks and what seemed to be its final objectives? These may be indicated in part by the following extracts from its final report for 1933-34—National Planning Board, final report 1933-34, page 11:

Need To Develop Mental Attitudes Favorable To National Planning

"State and interstate planning is a lusty infant but the work is only beginning. Advisory economic councils may be regarded as instrumentalities for stimulating a coordinated view of national life and for developing mental attitudes favorable to the principle of national planning."

Page 60:

"Finally, mention should be made of the fact that there are three great national councils which contribute to research in the social sciences. The Council of Learned Societies, the American Council on Education, and the Social Science Research Council are important factors in the development of research and add their activities to the body of scientific material available in any program of national planning.

"The Council of Learned Societies has promoted historical and general social research.

"The American Council on Education has recently sponsored an inquiry into the relation of Federal, State, and local governments to the conduct of public education. It has served as the organizing center for studies of materials of instruction and problems of educational administration. It represents the educational organizations of the country and is active in promoting research in its special field.

"The Social Science Research Council, a committee of which prepared this memorandum, is an organization engaged in planning research. It is true that its object has not been to make social plans, but rather to plan research in the social field. A decade of thought on planning activities through its committees, distributed widely over the social sciences, has given it an experience, a background with regard to the idea of planning, that should be of value if it were called on to aid in national planning. Furthermore, the members of the Social Science Research Council, its staff, and the members of its committees are perhaps more familiar than the members of any other organization with the personnel in the social sciences, with the research interests of social scientists, and with the experience and capabilities of social science research workers in the United States. The members of the council are familiar with the different bureaus of research. The council has been concerned chiefly with the determination of the groups and persons with whom special types of research should be placed. For this purpose it has set up committees, organized commissions, promoted research, and sponsored the development of various research agencies and interests. With its pivotal position among the social sciences, it could undoubtedly render valuable aid if called on to do so, in the formidable task of national planning."

Page 66:

"It was after the Civil War that American economic life came to be dominated by the philosophy of laissez faire and by the doctrines of rugged individualism. But the economic and social evils of the period resulted in the development of new planning attitudes tending to emphasize especially public control and regulation."

"Summing up the developments of these 125 years, one may say that insofar as the subject here considered is concerned, they are important because they left us a fourfold heritage:

"First, to think in terms of an institutional framework which may be fashioned in accordance with prepared plans;

"Second, a tendency to achieve results by compromise in which different lines and policies are more or less reconciled;

"Third, a tendency to stress in theory the part played in economic life by individualism, while at the same time having recourse in practice to governmental aid and to collective action when necessary; and

"Fourth, a continued social control applied to special areas of economic life."

Need To Develop A 5-Year Plan in America

Page 71:

"Such was the note already heard in America when during 1928-29 came the first intimations of the 5-year plan, and the Western World began to be interested in the work and methods of the Gosplan in Moscow. The Russian experience was not embodied in any concrete way in American thinking, but it stimulated the idea that we need to develop in an American plan out of our American background."

The National Planning Board after furnishing its report in 1934 was discontinued.

The National Resources Committee was in existence from 1934 to 1939.

National Resources Planning Board Urges Adoption of Socialism in U.S.

In 1939, the National Resources Planning Board was constituted, in part with the same personnel. After a few years of deliberation, it rendered its final report, from which the following verbatim and continuous extract is quoted from page 3:

"The National Resources Planning Board believes that it should be the declared policy of the United States Government.

"To underwrite full employment for the employables;

"To guarantee a job for every man released from the Armed Forces and the war industries at the close of the war, with fair pay and working conditions;

"To guarantee and, when necessary, underwrite:

"Equal access to security,

"Equal access to education for all,

"Equal access to health and nutrition for all, and

"Wholesome housing conditions for all.

"This policy grows directly out of the Board's statement concerning which the President has said:

" 'All of the free peoples must plan, work, and fight together for the maintenance and development of our freedoms and rights.' "

THE FOUR FREEDOMS

"Freedom of speech and expression, freedom to worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear: and

A NEW BILL OF RIGHTS

"1. The right to work, usefully and creatively through the productive years;

"2. The right to fair pay, adequate to command the necessities and amenities of life in exchange for work, ideas, thrift, and other socially valuable service.

"3. The right to adequate food, clothing, shelter, and medical care;

"4. The right to security, with freedom from fear of old age, want, dependency, sickness, unemployment, and accident;

"5. The right to live in a system of free enterprise, free from compulsory labor, irresponsible private power, arbitrary public authority, and unregulated monopolies;

"6. The right to come and go, to speak or to be silent, free from the spyings of secret political police;

"7. The right to education, for work, for citizenship, and for personal growth and happiness; and

"8. The right to equality before the law, with equal access to justice in fact;

"9. The right to rest, recreation, and adventure, the opportunity to enjoy life and take part in an advancing civilization.

"Plans for this purpose are supported and explained in this report. The previous publications of the Board, including National Resources Development Report for 1942, transmitted to the Congress by the President on January 14, 1942, and a series of pamphlets (After Defense—What? After the War—Full Employment, Postwar Planning, etc.), also provide background for this proposal."

The plans just mentioned are incorporated in a series of points under the following captions:

Page 13: A. *Plans for Private Enterprise.*

Page 13: B. *Plans for Finance and Fiscal Policies.*

Page 13: C. *Plans for Improvement of Physical Facilities.*

Page 16 D. *Essential Safeguards of Democracy.*

Under a caption, "Plans for Services and Security" are extensive recommendations under the descriptive headings which follow:

Page 16-17:

"A. Plans for Development of Service Activities.

1. Equal access to education.

2. Health, nutrition, and medical care.

"B. Plans for Underwriting Employment

"C. Plans for Social Security"

Still another basic caption appears as follows:

Pages 60-66: Equal Access to Health:

"I. Elimination of All Preventable Diseases and Disabilities.

"II. Assurance of Proper Nutrition for All Our People.

"III. Assurance of Adequate Health and Medical Care for All.

"IV. Economical and Efficient Organization of Health Services..."

A statement of authorship of the section on Equal Access to Health says that it was prepared under the direction of Assistant Director Thomas C. Blaisdell, by Dr. Eveline M. Burns, of the Board's staff. Dr. Burns is a graduate of the London School of Economics, which has received grants from the Rockefeller Foundation totaling \$4,105,600.

The discussion and detailed recommendations in this final report of the National Resources Planning Board are far too lengthy to be incorporated in this study. Certainly, some of them seem reasonable from the standpoint of our former governmental procedure but others are sufficiently novel to warrant mention herein in order to clarify the underlying objectives in the fields mentioned.

PLANS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF PHYSICAL FACILITIES

"We recommend for consideration: With private enterprise, through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation or possibly one or several Federal Development Corporations and subsidiaries providing for participation of both public and private investment and representation in management—particularly for urban redevelopment, housing, transport terminal reorganization, and energy development. Government should assist these joint efforts through such measures as:

"(1) Government authority to clear obsolescent plant of various kinds, as, for instance, we have done in the past through condemnation of unsanitary dwellings, to remove the menace to health and competition with other or better housing.

"(2) Governmental authority to assemble properties for reorganization and redevelopment—perhaps along the lines of previous grants of the power of eminent domain to canal and railroad companies for the acquisition of rights-of way."

HEALTH, NUTRITION, AND MEDICAL CARE

"Assurance of adequate medical and health care for all, regardless of place of residence or income status and on a basis that is consistent with the self respect of the recipient, through:

"(1) Federal appropriations to aid States and localities in developing a system of regional and local hospitals and health centers covering all parts of the country;

"(2) Assurance of an adequate and well-distributed supply of physicians, dentists, nurses, and other medical personnel.

PLANS FOR UNDERWRITING EMPLOYMENT

"To guarantee the right to a job, activities in the provision of physical facilities and service activities should be supplemented by:

"(1) Formal acceptance by the Federal Government of responsibility for insuring jobs at decent pay to all those able to work regardless of whether or not they can pass a means test;

"(2) The preparation of plans and programs, in addition to those recommended under public works (II-B-3), for all kinds of socially useful work other than construction, arranged according to the variety of abilities and location of persons seeking employment."

From final report, NRPB, p. 13, 17.

Page 17:

PLANS FOR SOCIAL SECURITY

"Reorganization of the unemployment compensation laws to provide broadened coverage, more nearly adequate payments, incorporating benefits to dependents, payments of benefits for at least 26 weeks, and replacement of present Federal-State system by a wholly Federal administrative organization and a single national fund.

"Creation of an adequate general public assistance system through Federal financial aid for general relief available to the States on an equalizing basis and accompanied by Federal standards.

"Strengthening of the public assistance programs to provide more adequately for those in need, and a redistribution of Federal aid to correspond to differences in needs and financial capacity among the States."

Page 69:

EQUAL ACCESS TO EDUCATION

"That equal access to general and specialized education be made available to all youth of college

and university age, according to their abilities and the needs of society."

Page 70:

"That adequate provision be made for the part-time education of adults through expansion of services such as correspondence and class study, forums, educational broadcasting, and libraries and museums."

Page 71:

"That camp facilities be made available for all youth above the lower elementary grades, with work experience provided as a part of camp life."

Page 72:

"That the services of the United States Office of Education and State departments of education be expanded and developed to provide adequate research facilities and educational leadership to the Nation."

Page 73:

"That inequality of the tax burden for education within and among the States be reduced through the distribution of State and Federal funds on the basis of need."

The quotations from the reports of the National Planning Board and the National Resources Planning Board should suffice to show how they have followed the lead of the Commission on Social Studies and how completely they have embraced virtually all phases of our economic life including education. . . . ☐

(Hearings, Special Committee To Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations And Comparable Organizations, May, 1954, pp. 610-616)

The Reece Committee Final Report On “Internationalism” and the Effect of Foundation Power on Foreign Policy

Foundation Funding of The New “Internationalism”

Some of the major foundations have had a significant impact upon our foreign policy and have done much to condition the thinking of our people along “internationalist” lines. What is this “internationalism” which meets with such hearty foundation support? Professor Colegrove in his testimony described [it as follows]:

“In my opinion, a great many of the staffs of the foundations have gone way beyond Wendell Wilkie with reference to internationalism and globalism. * * * There is undoubtedly too much money put into studies which support globalism and internationalism. You might say that the other side has not been as fully developed as it should be.” (Hearings, p. 595.)

Professor Colegrove pointed out that “the other side” has been well represented in Congress but that the foundations had seen fit to support only the one point of view or approach. He felt that there is a definite tendency to “sacrifice the national interest of our country in dealing with foreign affairs.” He said:

“* * * But there is too frequently a tendency of Americans not to think in international conferences on foreign policy about the national interest of the United States. We are thinking always of what is the interest of the whole world.

“And that kind of thinking always brings us to the point where we are too likely to make sacrifices to accomplish this globalism which England would not be willing to make under Churchill, or Attlee for that matter, which Laniel would not be willing to make, or Bidault, or whoever is Prime Minister. That is a very unfortunate tendency. * * *”

Foundation Leaders Hostile To Traditional American Policies

Many Americans today join with former Assistant Secretary of State, Spruille Braden, who said in a letter to . . . this Committee:

“I have a very definite feeling that a number of the foundations have been taken over by what I describe in my testimony before the Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee, not so much the Communists, as by state interventionists, collectivists, misguided idealists, ‘do-gooders’ and ‘what-

not', and that this is one of the greatest perils confronting our country today.* * *My respect for the Rockefeller Foundation in connection with its health work in such places as Colombia, in yellow fever, malaria, etc., has been severely jolted when I read that Chester Bowles has now been made a director of that institution. The reason for my concern is that only a few months ago I heard the former Ambassador and Governor of Connecticut declaim against the Farewell Address of George Washington as typifying the evils of isolationism! * * * *I have the very definite feeling that these various foundations you mention very definitely do exercise both overt and covert influences on our foreign relations and that their influences are counter to the fundamental principles on which this nation was founded and which have made it great.*" (Emphasis supplied.)

(The "various foundations" referred to in [Braden's] letter are "Carnegie Endowment, Rockefeller Foundation, Ford Foundation, Rhodes Scholarship Trust, etc.")

Evidence Indicates Foundations Have Promoted Collectivist Form of Globalism

*The weight of evidence before this Committee, which the foundations have made no serious effort to rebut, indicates that the form of globalism which the foundations have so actively promoted and from which our foreign policy has suffered seriously, relates definitely to a collectivist point of view. Despite vehement disclaimers of bias, despite platitudinous affirmations of loyalty to American traditions, the statements filed by those foundations whose operation touch on foreign policy have produced no rebuttal to the evidence of support of collectivism. Some indication of this is given by the 1934 Yearbook of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace which complains about the "economic nationalism which is still running riot and which is the greatest obstacle to the reestablishment of prosperity and genuine peace * * *," referring to it later as "this violently reactionary movement."* (Hearings, p. 910.)

Challenge of Future — Make This World One World

The Rockefeller Foundation minced no words in its 1946 Report (Hearings, p. 934) :

"The challenge of the future is to make this world one world—a world truly free to engage in common and constructive intellectual efforts that will serve the welfare of mankind everywhere."

However well-meaning the advocates of complete internationalism may be, they often play into the hands of the Communists. Communists recognize that a breakdown of nationalism is a prerequisite to the introduction of Communism. This appears in a translation of a Russian poster dealing with international education, which reads as follows (Hearings, p. 288) :

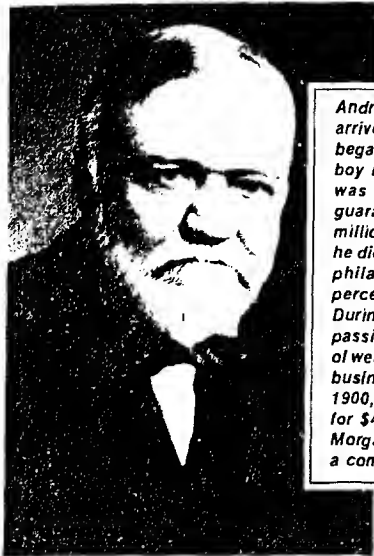
"Without educating internationalists, we will not build socialism. Animosity between nations is the support of counter-revolutions and of capital. It is therefore profitable and so is maintained. War is needed by capitalists for still greater enslavement of oppressed people. International education is the way toward socialism and toward the union of the toilers of the whole world."

Foundations Closely Interlocked in Promoting "Internationalism"

Substantial evidence indicates there is more than a mere close working together among some foundations, operating in the international field. There is here, as in the general realm of the social sciences, a close interlock. *The Carnegie Corporation, The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, The Rockefeller Foundation and, recently, The Ford Foundation, joined by some others, have commonly cross-financed, to the tune of many millions, various intermediate and agency organizations concerned with internationalism, among them the*

*Institute of Pacific Relations
The Foreign Policy Association
The Council on Foreign Relations
The Royal Institute of International Affairs*

and others. No one would claim, of course, that there has been a contract or agreement among this group of foundations for the common support of these organizations, or the common support of likeminded propagandists, but the close working together has incontrovertibly happened. That it happened by sheer coincidence stretches credulity. That such unity of purpose, effort and direction resulted from chance or happenstance seems unlikely.



United States Steel Corporation

Andrew Carnegie was 13 when he arrived from Scotland in 1849 and began as a \$4.80-a-month bobbin boy in a Pittsburgh steel mill. He was 65 when he retired with a guaranteed lifetime income of \$1 million a month. But by the time he died in 1911, he had given away, philanthropically, more than 90 percent of his personal fortune. During his lifetime, Carnegie, a passionate promoter of the "gospel of wealth," went into the iron bridge business and then into steel. In 1900, he sold Carnegie Steel Co. for \$492 million to Financier J. P. Morgan, who was then assembling a combine known as U.S. Steel.

Carnegie's Money for Peace

In 1910 Andrew Carnegie created *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. How to expend the granted funds for the purpose of promoting peace, however, became a difficult problem. Unable to think of many direct ways in which to accomplish Mr. Carnegie's purposes, the trustees, from time to time, suggested various collateral approaches. That these occasionally went far beyond the donor's intention is testified to by the minutes of an Executive Committee meeting in August, 1913, in which, referring to certain proposals, the minutes read:

"Mr. Choate raised the question whether 'the recommendations as a whole did not seem to suggest the diversion of the *Endowment* from its particular object of promoting international peace to a general plan for the uplift and education of humanity'".

At the same meeting Mr. Carnegie stated that he "understood the *Endowment's* resources were to be applied to the direct means for abolishing war, that he did not regard the proposed expenditures in the Orient as coming within these means, and that there were other more important and pressing things bearing directly upon the question of war and peace which could be done instead."

It is to be doubted that Mr. Carnegie would have approved of some of the methods later used to distribute the fund which he had created to promote peace. He must have contemplated that

some propaganda-production might be necessary. However, we doubt that he had any idea that the propaganda would reach into fields other than the promotion of international arbitration and things directly concerned with the peaceful settlement of international disputes. Yet the *Endowment* started early to organize media for widespread propaganda efforts to educate the American public into what Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler called "the international mind." *It was as though the conception was that we could have world peace if only Americans became more world-minded.*

Carnegie Endowment For International Peace – An Extremely Powerful Propaganda Machine

An extremely powerful propaganda machine was created. It spent many millions of dollars in:

The production of masses of material for distribution;

The creation and support of large numbers of international polity clubs, and other local organizations at colleges and elsewhere;

The underwriting and dissemination of many books on various subjects, through the "International Mind Alcoves" and the "International Relations Clubs and Centers" which it organized all over the country;

The collaboration with agents of publicity, such as newspaper editors;

The preparation of material to be used in school text books, and cooperation with publishers of text books to incorporate this material;

The establishing of professorships at the colleges and the training and indoctrination of teachers;

The financing of lecturers and the importation of foreign lecturers and exchange professors;

Support of Agencies in the International Field

The support of outside agencies touching the international field, such as *the Institute of International Education, the Foreign Policy Association, the American Association For the Advancement of Science, the American Council on Education, the American Council of Learned Societies,*

the American Historical Association, the American Association of International Conciliation, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the International Parliamentary Union and others, and acting as mid-wife at the birth of some of them.

Kathryn Casey and Carnegie Minutes

Miss Casey's report (Hearings, p. 869, et seq.) proves beyond any doubt that *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* created powerful propaganda mechanisms and was, indeed, quite frank about it. There was no hesitation in its minutes, for example, at using the term "propaganda." Its eventual Division of Intercourse and Education was originally referred to as the "Division of Propaganda." (Hearings, p. 871.)

One does not need to doubt the complete good will of those who passed upon the *Endowment's* various activities. The *Endowment* has always had and still has on its Board men of high competence and character. *But there is inherent danger in the creation of a great propaganda machine.* It can be used for good, but it is also available for undesirable purposes. No other proof of the truth of this statement is needed than the history of the *Institute of Pacific Relations*. . . . Yet it became an instrument for subversion; its great propaganda power. . . . became a powerful force for evil.

Carnegie Endowment Takes Credit For Altering Public Opinion in America

The danger of misuse is all the more serious in the light of the *Endowment's* own estimate of the effectiveness of its propaganda. Its yearbook of 1945 states:

"Every part of the United States and every element in its population have been reached by the *Endowment's* work. The result may be seen in the recorded attitude of public opinion which makes it certain that the American government will be strongly supported in the accomplishment of its effort to offer guidance and commanding influence to the establishment of a world organization for protection of international peace and preservation of resultant prosperity." (Hearings, p. 899.)

It thus takes credit for having a powerful propaganda machine indeed.

The Track Record of Alger Hiss

It is not beyond the possibility that *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* might have followed the same course as did the *Institute of Pacific Relations*. After all, Alger Hiss was made President of the *Endowment*. He was probably not in office long enough to do irremediable damage, but it is always possible that a great propaganda machine could get into the hands of another traitor, with tragic results to our country. *When it is easy for a Hiss to become a trustee of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, a director of the Executive Committee of the American Association for the United Nations, a director of the American Peace Society, a trustee of the World Peace Foundation, a director of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, and the President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, it is highly doubtful that propaganda machines should be operated by foundations.* They have a way, at times, of getting out of hand and being used for purposes other than originally intended.

Promotion of World Economic Cooperation

The basic problem of the *Endowment* trustees was: what activities do in fact weightily relate to its intended purpose of promoting international peace? The trustees decided upon some strange ways to approach this problem. The 1939 Year Book of the *Endowment* recites:

"Recognizing the desire of American public opinion for educational material on economic questions and also for encouragement in the effort to carry on democratic discussion of these problems, the division has cooperated with the U.S. Department of Agriculture, in its discussion program and with the campaign for world economic cooperation of the *National Peace Conference* described later in this report."

It is difficult to understand the connection of such activities with the promotion of international peace. Perhaps a case could be made for the proposition that, regardless of how belligerent or

aggressive the rest of the world might be, a mere increase in the education of the American public, an expansion of its understanding of "Economic questions", of agriculture and of "world economic problems", might promote the cause of peace. That seems rather far-fetched. But it is the conclusion of this Committee, from a reading of *Carnegie Endowment reports*, that no simple educational program was intended. The term "Public education" is used far less often than the term, the "education of public opinion" (Hearings, pp. 906, 907, 908), which is a far different thing. This term is too apt to result from accident. It has the clear connotation of propaganda.

Prime Purpose of Endowment – Condition Public Opinion Along One-World Philosophy

By its own admission, a prime purpose of the *Endowment* was to "educate" the public so that it would be conditioned to the points of view which the *Endowment* favored: There is very serious doubt whether these points of view were always

in the best interests of our nation; but here their validity or falsity is beside the point. The basic question is: *should vast aggregations of public money in the control of a handful of men, however well selected, have the power and the right to condition public opinion!*

Carnegie Endowment's Control and Influence Over Textbook Material

Of all the many media of propaganda used by the *Endowment*, perhaps the most reprehensible was its attempt to control or, at least, deeply influence text book material. It engaged in close and intensive collaboration with publishers with the objective of making sure that the historical material used in text books suited its own positions. Time has permitted an analysis of the products of this collaboration; we are not in a position to judge of the damage to objectivity which resulted from this collaboration. But one thing seems utterly clear: *no private group should have the power or the right to dictate what should be read and taught in our schools and colleges.*

The Endowment's "International Mind" Collection

A random sampling was taken by Miss Casey of books distributed by the *Carnegie Endowment* through the *International Mind Alcoves* or through the *International Relations Clubs and Centers*. Professor Kenneth Colegrove looked over the names of some of these books and commented upon a number of them as follows (Hearings, p. 926, et seq):



Author	Name of Book	Prof. Colegrove's Comments
Harold J. Laski	Studies in the Problem Sovereignty.	"Opposed to the 'national interest' Inclines toward extreme left."
Raymond Leslie Buell	International Relations.	"Globalist"
Read, Elizabeth F.	International Law and International Relations	"Rather Leftist"
Buck, Pearl S.	The Good Earth.	"Slightly leftist"
Angell, Norman.	The Unseen Assassins.	"Globalist"
Patterson, Ernest Minor.	America: World Leader or World Led?	"Globalist"
Salter, Sir Arthur.	Recovery, the Second Effort	"Globalist"
Ware, Edith E.	Business and Politics in the Far East.	"Doubtful"
Hindus, Maurice.	Humanity Uprooted.	"Marxian slant"
McMullen, Laura W.	Building the World Society	"Globalist"
Strong, Anna Louise	The Road to the Grey Pamir	"Well known communist"
de Madariga, Salvador	Disarmament.	"Ultra globalist and aimed at submergence of 'national interest.'"
James T. Shotwell	On the Abyss.	"Globalist"

William T. Stone and Clark M. Eichelberger.	Peaceful Change	"Globalist and leftist. Regarding W. T. Stone, see report of McCarran sub-committee. Stone was closely associated with Edward Carter of I.P.R."
Salter, Sir Arthur	World Trade and Its Future	"Globalist"
Angell, Norman	Peace with the Dictators?	"Globalist"
Streit, Clarence K.	Union Now	"Globalist and submersion of national interest. Fallacious in his analogy of Union of American states in 1781 with world federation"
Bisson, T.A.	American Policy in the Far East, 1931-	"Pro-communist"
Hunt, Dr. Erling (Teachers College)	Citizens for a New World, yearbook of Commission for Organization of Peace.	"Ultra Globalist"
MacIver, R.M.	Toward an Abiding Peace	"Extremely globalist and careless of the American 'national interest.'"
Lattimore, Owen	America and Asia	"Subtle propaganda along Communist line. Lattimore cited in McCarran sub-committee report as part of Communist cell in the Institute of Pacific Relations."
Pfeffer, Nathaniel	Basis for Peace in the Far East	"Leftist. See McCarran Sub-Committee report."
The Soviet Union Today an Outline Study	American Russian Institute	"Favorable to U.S.S.R."
Percy E. Corbett	Britain: Partner for Peace	"Extremely globalist"

Public Funds Being Utilized To Promote Communist Literature

A detailed analysis of the entire list of books distributed by the *Endowment* would probably disclose many more, the distribution of which could be seriously criticized on the ground of lack of objectivity or because in the aggregate they represent a distinct and forceful slanting to the globalist point of view. Nor is "globalism" the limit or extent of the criticism of the Endowment in its selection of books for wide distribution through the International Mind Alcoves and otherwise. It has been called to our attention that *The Pupils of the Soviet Union*, by Corliss Lamont currently a professor of philosophy at Columbia University, is being distributed by the Carnegie Endowment to the Alcoves. In view of the well-known fellow-traveler identity of the author (whose Communist affiliations are too extensive to be included in this report), it is quite shocking to learn that public funds are being used to distribute his literature.

Carnegie Endowment Created International Relations Club

Dr. Felix Wittmer, formerly Associate Professor of the Social Studies at New Jersey State Teach-

ers College, filed a sworn statement with the Committee (Hearings Part 2) describing his experiences as faculty advisor to one of the *International Relations Clubs* founded by the *Carnegie Endowment* at the colleges. He stated that there was a network of close to a thousand of such clubs and indicated that, as a result of their operation and of the material fed into them by the *Endowment*, a large proportion of the student members had acquired leftist tendencies.

Dr. Lamont in a recent Facts Forum program, *Answers for Americans*, made the following amazing remarks:

"I don't think that Communist China is under control of Soviet Russia."

"We should have Communist China come in as a member [of the UN]." (Facts Forum News, August 1951, page 26.)

The *Endowment* supplied a large amount of printed material to the Clubs, Bulletins of the Foreign Policy Association, the *Headline Books*, publications of the *Institute of Pacific Relations* and of the *American Russian Institute*, and numbers of books on international subjects. Let us look at some of this literature fed into the colleges by the *Endowment*.

According to Dr. Wittmer, they included works by such pro-Communist stalwarts as Ruth Benedict, T. A. Bisson, Evans Clark, Corliss Lamont, Owen Lattimore, Nathaniel Pfeffer and Alexander Werth. Three of these, T. A. Bisson, Corliss Lamont and Owen Lattimore were identified as Communists before the McCarran Committee. Miss Benedict was the co-author with Gene Weltfish of a pamphlet which was finally barred by the War Department. Miss Weltfish resigned from Columbia University after a Fifth Amendment refusal to state whether she was a Communist or not. Evans Clark (for many years a Director of the *Twentieth Century Fund*...) has had a long record of association with subversive organizations. Professor Pfeffer has disclosed himself frequently as a pro-Communist or, at least, an advocate of support of the Chinese Communists. In a review of George Creel's *Russia's Race for Asia* in the New York Times, Pfeffer reprimanded Creel because "he fears Russia and does not like or trust the Chinese Communists." Alexander Werth is a well-known European apologist for many Communist causes.

Dr. Wittmer notes that "Many other books which the *Carnegie Endowment* sent to our college club as gifts, while not quite so outspokenly pro-Communist, were of the leftwing variety", and he named several in his statement.

Dr. Wittmer apparently had to supply his students from other sources with books which might tend to counteract the radical points of view of the literature presented by the *Endowment*. Such books were not obtainable from the *Endowment* itself.

Regional conferences were held from time to time and Dr. Wittmer notes that "a large majority of those students who attended such conferences favored the views which came close to that of the Kremlin." One can hardly avoid the conclusion that these points of view had been indoctrinated through the material supplied by the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*.

Speakers were furnished for the *International Relations Club* by the *Endowment*. Dr. Wittmer notes that, as a final speaker, one year the *Endowment* suggested Alger Hiss. Dr. Wittmer, knowing something of his activities, protested but was overruled. The Secretary of the *Endowment* reminded him "in no uncertain terms that our club,

like all the hundreds of other clubs, was under the direction of the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, which had for years liberally supplied it with reading material, and which contributed funds to cover the Honoraria of conference speakers."

Dr. Wittmer states that radical infiltration into the *International Relations Club* of which he was faculty adviser became so acute that he finally felt obliged to disassociate himself from it.

Carnegie Endowment Created Something of a Frankenstein

The cumulative evidence indicates that the *Carnegie Endowment* created something of a Frankenstein in building up its vast propaganda machine. We suggest that much further study should be given to this subject. The extent to which this machine has been responsible for indoctrinating our students with radical internationalism needs careful inquiry. We have said that a propaganda machine can become a dangerous weapon, even though designed for good. How this propaganda machine may have been suborned deserves intense study.



The Foreign Policy Association

Some of the worst literature distributed by the *Carnegie Endowment* apparently came from the *Foreign Policy Association*, which it heavily subsidized. It is quite astonishing how frequently we find leftists in important positions in organizations supported by major foundations. The *Foreign Policy Association* was created "to carry on research and educational activities to aid in the understanding and constructive development of American Foreign Policy." [Emphasis supplied.] Its Research Director for years has been Vera Michaels Dean. Here is what Dr. Wittmer had to say about Mrs. Dean:

"Mrs. Dean belonged among those who in 1937 signed their names in the Golden Book of American-Soviet Friendship, a memorial which

appeared in the Communist front magazine *Soviet Russia Today*, of November, 1937. According to the testimony of Walter S. Steele, before the House Un-American Activities Committee, on July 21, 1947, Mrs. Dean's writings figured in the Communist propaganda kit for teachers of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

"Mrs. Dean cooperated with the world's toughest Communist agents, such as Tsola N. Dragiocheva, of Bulgaria, and Madame Madeleine Braun, the French Communist deputy, in helping set up the Congress of American Women, a Communist front so important in its world-wide ramifications that the House Un-American Activities Committee devoted a 114-page pamphlet to it. At one of the preliminary meetings of this Communist front Vera Michaels Dean, according to *The New York Times* of October 14, 1946 (page 26), told 150 foreign and 50 American delegates to "whittle away their conceptions of national sovereignty" and to pull themselves out of the "ancient grooves of nationalism."

This was the selection of the *Foreign Policy Association*, virtually a creature of the *Carnegie endowment*, to run its "research!"

Foreign Policy Association Promotes Only One Narrow Viewpoint

The Foreign Policy Association purports to be objective and disclaims seeking "to promote any one point of view toward international affairs." Its produce, however, indicates that it is only interested in promoting that form of internationalism which Dr. Colegrove described in his testimony, frequently referred to as "globalism." Its principal financing has come from *The Carnegie Endowment* and *The Rockefeller Foundation* and, recently, from the *Ford Fund for Adult Education*, and in very substantial amounts indeed.

Advocating A Move Toward Socialism

Among its productions have been the "*Headline Books*." These supposedly objective studies are worth a detailed examination. One of them, *World of the Great Powers*, by Max Lerner,

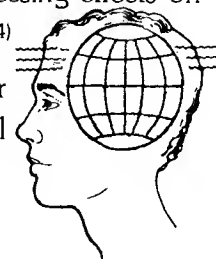
(1947), graciously says: "There are undoubtedly valuable elements in the capitalist economic organizations." It proceeds to say that "The economic techniques of the future are likely to be an amalgam of the techniques of American business management with those of government ownership, control, and regulation. For the people of the world, whatever their philosophies, are moving towards similar methods of making their economic system work." Mr. Lerner, this foundation-supported author, proceeds to tell us that:

"If democracy is to survive, it too must move toward socialism. * * * It is the only principle that can organize the restless energies of the world's peoples. * * *" (Hearings, p. 883.) [Emphasis supplied.]

Mr. Lerner's position regarding Russia is made clear. We must allay the mutual fear and suspicion by granting loans to Russia to provide her with tools and machinery. We must also give "greater United Nations control of Japan and the former Japanese Island bases in the Pacific." Thus we can live in peace with Russia. Thus money indirectly contributed by the American taxpayers is employed to promote doctrines which many, if not most, seriously question or directly oppose. Yet the 1950 Rockefeller annual report refers to the *Headline Books* as "the popular *Headline Books*, with details on problems of importance to America and to the World." (Hearings, pp. 883, 941.)

Another of the *Foreign Policy Association's Headline Books* is *Freedom's Choice, The Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, by Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, which lauds this Declaration (emphatically rejected by our Government) without any mention of possibly distressing effects on our Constitutional law. (Hearings, p. 884)

All this is "education" of our public, to give it the "international mind!"



The Council on Foreign Relations

This is another organization dealing with internationalism which has the substantial financial support of both the *Carnegie Endowment* and the *Rockefeller Foundation*. And, as in the case of the *Foreign Policy Association*, its productions are

not objective but are directed overwhelmingly at promoting the globalism concept. *There are, after all, many Americans who think that our foreign policy should follow the principle consistently adopted by the British and the French, among others, that the national interest comes first and must not be subordinated to any theoretical internationalistic concept; that international cooperation is essential but only as directed in favor of the national interest. That point of view goes begging in the organizations supported by the Carnegie, Rockefeller and Ford organizations. If private fortunes were being used to the exclusive support of the globalist point of view, that would be beyond criticism. But it is important to keep constantly in mind that we are dealing with the public's money, public trust funds.*

Globalists Favor A World Collectivist Society

We would like to make it clear that this Committee does not speak from an "isolationist" standpoint. It is obvious enough that the world has grown smaller and that international cooperation is highly desirable. But the essence of intelligent international cooperation can be measured by its direct usefulness to our national interest. Globalists may be correct in believing we should ignore the national interest in the wider interest of creating a world collectivism; but we feel confident we are right in our conclusion that a public foundation has no right to promote globalism to the exclusion of support for a fair presentation of the opposite theory of foreign policy.

The Council on Foreign Relations – An Agency of the U.S. Government

The Council on Foreign Relations came to be in essence an agency of the United States government, no doubt carrying its internationalist bias with it. When World War II broke out, it offered its assistance to the Secretary of State. As a result, under the Council's Committee on Studies, The Rockefeller Foundation initiated and financed certain studies on: Security and Armaments Problems; economic and Financial Problems; Political Problems; and Territorial Problems. These were known as the War and Peace Studies. Later this project was actually taken over by the State Department itself, engaging the secretaries who had

been serving with the Council groups. A fifth subject was added in 1942, through the "Peace Aims Group."

U.S. State Department Directed By Carnegie Endowment and Council on Foreign Relations

There was a precedent for this. *The Carnegie Endowment* had offered its services to the Government in both World War I and World War II. There was even an interlock in personnel in the person of Professor Shotwell and many others, some of whom proceeded into executive and consultative office in the Government. There can be no doubt that much of the thinking in the State Department and much of the background of direction of its policies came from the personnel of *The Carnegie Endowment* and *The Council on Foreign Relations*. In considering the propriety of this, it must be kept in mind that these organizations promoted only the internationalist point of view, rejecting and failing to support the contrary position that our foreign policy should be based primarily on our own national interest. A reading of Miss Casey's report (Hearings, pp. 878, 879, 884 et seq.) gives some idea of the substantial integration of these two organizations with the State Department.

Carnegie Boast of Directing U.S. Foreign Policy

The *Endowment* in its 1934 Yearbook proudly asserts that it—

"is becoming an unofficial instrument of international policy, taking up here and there the ends and threads of international problems and questions which the governments find it difficult to handle, and through private initiative reaching conclusions which are not of a formal nature but which unofficially find their way into the policies of governments." (Hearings, p. 909.) [Emphasis ours.]

Note, moreover, that the term used is "governments", the plural.

Carnegie Endowment Admits Its Long Standing Goal of Directing and Controlling U.S. Government

Perhaps this marked a feeling of satisfaction at having accomplished a successful infiltration

into government function. The original method of the *Endowment* had been limited to arousing public pressure. Its 1925 Yearbook had stated:

"Underneath and behind all these undertakings there remains the task to instruct and to enlighten public opinion so that it may not only guide but compel the action of governments and public officers in the direction of constructive progress." (Hearings, p. 908.) [Emphasis ours.]

It is quite astounding to this Committee that the trustees of a public trust could possibly conceive of having the right to sue public funds for the purpose of putting pressure on the government, to adopt the ideas the trustees happened to favor, by inflaming public opinion.

The Historical Blackout

It must be kept in mind that the evils attendant on permitting propaganda by any individual foundation multiply geometrically when there is unified or combined or similar action by a group of foundations. We have seen that *The Carnegie Endowment* financed the production of text book material approved by its elite. *The Rockefeller Foundation* and some of its associates also entered this field of propaganda.

Professor Harry Elmer Barnes in his *The Struggle Against the Historical Blackout*, said:

"The readjustment of historical writing to historical facts relative to background and causes of the first World War—what is popularly known in the historical craft as 'Revisionism'—was the most important development in historiography during the decade of the 1920's."

How Wars Are Created

Wars in this day and age are accompanied by the perversion of history to suit a propaganda thesis. Historians know this. Many of them, in a spirit of patriotism, misguided or not, lend themselves to this propaganda process. Whether they are ethically justified in this, is gravely questionable. It certainly becomes their duty, however, to revise their contorted historical emanations after propaganda reason for perversion has ceased to be in any way useful. This most of them seem not to do.

American People To Be Prevented From Learning The Truth of WW II

Where have the foundations fitted into this picture? *The Council on Foreign Relations*, an organization supported by *The Rockefeller Foundation*, *The Carnegie Corporation* and others, made up its mind that no "revisionism" was to be encouraged after World War II. The following is an extract from the 1946 Report of *The Rockefeller Foundation*, referring to the Council's work:

"The Committee on Studies of the *Council on Foreign Relations* is concerned that the debunking journalistic campaign following World War I should not be repeated and believes that the American public deserves a clear and competent statement of our basic aims and activities during the second World War."

Protection of Policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt

Accordingly, a three volume history of the War was to be prepared under the direction of Professor William Langer of Harvard, in which (one must gather this from the use of the term "debunking") no revisionism was to appear. In other words, the official propaganda of World War II was to be perpetuated and the public was to be protected against learning the truth. As Professor Charles Austin Beard put it:

"In short, they hope that, among other things, the policies and measures of Franklin D. Roosevelt will escape in the coming years the critical analysis evaluation and exposition that befell the policies and measures of Woodrow Wilson and the Entente Allies after World War I."

Do foundations have the right, using public funds, to support measures calculated to hide historical facts from the public and to perpetuate those contortions of history which war propaganda imposes on us!

A Veritable Conspiracy To Prevent People From Learning Historical Truth

A reading of Dr. Barnes' *Historical Blackout* is rewarding. He sets forth in detail what verges

on a veritable conspiracy to prevent the people from learning the historical truth. Parties to this conspiracy are a good many of the professors of history with notable names; the State Department of former years; publishers who, under some misapprehension of their duty to the public, refuse to publish critical books; and newspapers which attempt to suppress such books either by ignoring them or giving them for review to rabidly antagonistic "hatchet-men". But what is most shocking in the story he tells is the part played knowingly or unknowingly by foundations in trying to suppress the truth. *The Rockefeller Foundation*, in 1946, allotted \$139,000 to the support of the three volume history which was to be produced as described above.

The Institute of Pacific Relations

The most tragic example of foundation negligence is to be found in the long continued support of *The Institute of Pacific Relations* by both *The Carnegie Corporation of New York* and the *Rockefeller Foundation*, as well as the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*. We have referred elsewhere to the great power of the large foundations, for good or evil—what intrinsic danger there is in permitting them to have free rein in areas which involve human behavior or relations, or impinge on the political. Foundation executives have said that, while they make mistakes with some frequency, freedom of action is essential to enable them to perform their part of leading society into betterment. Should they have this license when some of their mistakes have tragic consequences?

The Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary held long hearings on IPR. Its report, substantially its opinion at length, concludes:

"The subcommittee concludes * * * that the IPR has been in general, neither objective nor non-partisan; and concludes further that, at least since the mid-1930's, the net effect of IPR activities on United States public opinion has been pro-communist and pro-Soviet, and has frequently and repeatedly been such as to serve international Communist, and Soviet interests, and to subvert the interests of the United States." (Report, p. 84.)

IPR – A Propaganda Vehicle For The Communists

Note that the Committee held that IPR had become a propaganda vehicle for the Communists as early as the mid-1930's. We have, then, the astounding picture of great foundations, presuming to have the right to expend public trust funds in the public interest, so unaware of the mis-use to which their funds were being applied that they permitted, year after year, Communist propaganda to be produced and circulated with funds supplied by these foundations. The contribution of *The Carnegie Corporation*, *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* and *The Rockefeller Foundation* to the IPR (the Pacific and American groups taken together for this purpose) ran into the millions.

In addition to these grants, both the *Rockefeller* and *Carnegie* foundations made individual grants to some of the most reprehensible characters associated with IPR, these contributions to the Communist cause running into very substantial sums of public money.

Infiltration Into State Department And Loss of China

The story of the suborning of our foreign policy through the activities of IPR and persons associated with it, including the sad story of infiltration into our State Department, has been told. *Nor does the point need to be labored that the loss of China to the Communists may have been the most tragic event in our history, and one to which the foundation supported Institute of Pacific Relations heavily contributed.*

It must be remembered that the foundation executives consider themselves elite groups, entitled to guide the people by financing with public money research and propaganda in social fields. Are they elite if they have been so blind or so careless in their use of funds that their acts may actually be held to have been responsible for one of the most tragic events in our history?

Rockefeller Foundation Knowingly Supported IPR

According to the McCarran Committee, the foundations should perhaps have known in the

1930's that the IPR had ceased to be a proper or even safe recipient of foundations funds. Can they excuse themselves by saying they did not know or had not been informed? Were they not in fiduciary duty bound to learn? *Are the trustees of a foundation entitled to give money, year after year, to an institution without making any attempt to follow the effects of their donations?*

But the situation is worse even than this. The hearings of the Cox Committee disclose this set of facts. Mr. Alfred Kohlberg testified that he had been a member of IPR; that he had never paid much attention to what it was producing until 1943, when he saw some material which he found questionable. He then studied an accumulation of IPR material and made a lengthy report which he sent in 1944 to Mr. Carter, the secretary-general of IPR, and to the trustees and others. As a result he came into communication with Mr. Willets, a Vice-president of *The Rockefeller Foundation*. In the summer of 1945 an arrangement was made, apparently through Mr. Willets, for a committee of three persons to hear Mr. Kohlberg's charges, and his evidence of Communist infiltration and propaganda, and to make a report to IPR and to *The Rockefeller Foundation*. Later, apparently at the insistence of Mr. Carter, Mr. Willets withdrew as a mediator. Mr. Carter had indicated that he would take the matter up himself.

In the meantime, Mr. Kohlberg had brought and lost, an action to compel IPR to give him a list of his fellow-members. At any rate, a meeting of the members was finally called at which Mr. Kohlberg presented his charges and asked for an investigation. His motion was voted down and no investigation was held.

The Rockefeller Foundation nevertheless went right on supporting the Institute. The explanations made by Mr. Rusk (now, but not then, its President) in his statement filed on behalf of the *Foundation*, (Hearings, p. 1062 et seq.) and by Mr. Willets, its Director of Social Studies, in a separate statement (Hearings, Appendix), are highly unsatisfactory. Mr. Rusk stated that, at the time the Kohlberg charges were levied, the *Foundation* could not conduct a "public" hearing, "an undertaking for which the *Foundation* was neither equipped or qualified." (Hearings, Part 2) This begs the question, as no public hearing was necessary. Mr. Willets, on the other hand, admitted that the *Foundation* was equipped to make a thorough investigation. He

said that one was actually made—"a very thorough inquiry into the whole IPR situation by the *Foundation* staff"—"a careful investigation by us." But what sort of an investigation was this? Mr. Kohlberg, from his testimony before the Cox Committee, evidently had never heard of it. The grave charges had been made by him, yet he seems not to have been called upon to present them to the *Foundation* either in person or in documentary detail.

According to Mr. Willets' statement, great reliance was placed upon "A special committee of IPR trustees" who "reported that the Executive Committee had investigated Mr. Kohlberg's charges and found them inaccurate and irresponsible." Was this a way to discharge the duty of the *Rockefeller* trustees to determine whether support of the IPR should be continued—to rely largely upon some cursory investigation by the trustees or officers of that organization itself? Using such methods as this, it is no wonder that the *Foundation* concluded that the Kohlberg charges had been "exaggerated." The McCarran Committee did not find them exaggerated in any degree!

Rockefeller Foundation Offers Poor Excuse For Financing IPR

We have this sorry situation, then, that after Kohlberg had made his grave charges, *The Rockefeller Foundation* continued active support of the unit which was later declared to have supported subversion. The official *Rockefeller Foundation* position, from its filed statement, seems to be that further funds were advanced in order to help reform the organization. That is not convincing. Neither a sufficient alertness to danger was shown, nor a willingness to face the facts when disclosed and to repudiate an organization which had demonstrably turned out to be an instrument of subversion. *This baleful incident illustrates all too clearly the dangers of permitting public money to be used by private persons, without responsibility, in areas vitally affecting the public weal. It further illustrates the danger of delegating the discretion involved in the distribution of public funds, to an intermediary organization.*

We must grant to the *Carnegie Endowment* that it apparently withdrew its support of the IPR in 1939. Whether this was due partly or wholly

to other reasons we have not investigated. If it was because of an understanding that the IPR had come upon evil ways, this would make all the more reprehensible the continued contributions by *The Rockefeller Foundation* after 1939.

The Foundations, The State Department and Foreign Policy

Miss Casey's report (Hearings, pp. 877, 878, 879, 881, et seq.) shows clearly the interlock between *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* and some of its associated organizations, such as the *Council on Foreign Relations*, and other foundations with the State Department. Indeed, these foundations and organizations would not dream of denying this interlock. They proudly note it in reports. They have

undertaken vital research projects for the Department;

virtually created minor departments or groups within the Department for it;

supplied advisors and executives from their ranks;

fed a constant stream of personnel into the State Department trained by themselves or under programs which they have financed; and

have had much to do with the formulation of foreign policy both in principle and detail.

Carnegie Endowment and CFR Personnel— Direct Agents of the State Department

They have, to a marked degree, acted as direct agents of the State Department. And they have engaged actively, and with the expenditure of enormous sums, in propagandizing ("educating"?—public opinion) in support of the policies which they have helped to formulate. (Hearings, pp. 886 et seq.)

It is obvious enough that a state department should be able to draw upon the services of specialists in the international field for necessary assistance in times of emergency and even in times of peace. No one could doubt the desirability of such procedure. *What this Committee ques-*

tions, however, is whether it is proper for the State Department to permit organizations to take over important parts of its research and policy-making functions when these organizations consistently maintain a biased, one-tracked point of view. Whether that point of view is the majority's whether it is perhaps entirely sound (and historical events have proved it not to be) is beside the point. It is only through a conflict of ideas, and the presentation of opposite points of view, that objective decisions can be made.

Foundations Using Public Funds To Finance "One-World" Foreign Policy

What we see here is a number of large foundations, primarily *The Rockefeller Foundation*, *The Carnegie Corporation of New York*, and the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, using their enormous public funds to finance a one-sided approach to foreign policy and to promote it actively, among the public by propaganda, and in the Government through infiltration. The power to do this comes out of the power of the vast funds employed. Research and propaganda by those of the persuasion opposite that of the agencies of these foundations (*The Council on Foreign Relations*, *The Institute of International Education*, *The Foreign Policy Association*, *The Institute of Pacific Relations*, and others) receive little support.

The Road to Eminence In International Areas

It may well be said that a majority of the "experts" in the international field are on the side of globalism. It would be amazing if this were otherwise, after so many years of gigantic expenditure by foundations in virtually sole support of the globalist point of view. Professors and researchers have to eat and raise families. They cannot themselves spend the money to finance research and publications. The road to eminence in international areas, therefore, just as in the case of the social sciences generally, is by way of foundation grants of support.

The United Nations and UNESCO

The Carnegie Endowment has justified its ardent support of the *United Nations* on the

ground that support of UNO is an official part of United States policy. We are not convinced that this is the basic reason for the *Endowment's* support. It gave equally fervent support to the old *League of Nations*, after that organization had been repudiated by our Senate. The fact is that the *Endowment* has consistently advocated and propagandized for an international organization to promote peace as shown by its own report. (Hearings, pp. 909, 910, 911, et seq.)

That would be an estimable objective and a worthy cause to support in principle. To blindly support and educate an international organization merely because it is international seems hardly to be of benefit to our country. That seems to be exactly what the *Endowment* has done with its public funds. There are many who believe that an effective international organization is most highly desirable—and even that it may be the only sound, eventual solution to the problem of preserving peace—and yet feel that the UNO as it now exists is abysmally ineffective, showing no hope of being reformed to effectiveness. Yet you may search in vain among the material circulated by the *Endowment* and the organizations it supports for any presentation of this point of view. If there is any such literature among the produce of these organizations, we have missed it.

United Nations Is A Hopeless Vehicle For Producing Peace

What the official position of our Government may have been, or may now be, there are innumerable Americans who view the *United Nations Organization* with much less than enthusiasm. It is generally accepted that we are in it and should not at the moment desert it. Yet it is obvious enough that, short of a miracle or complete reform of the Communists, the UNO is a hopeless vehicle for producing international peace and understanding. Why, therefore, should foundations pour millions of public funds into “educating” the public into the idea that the UNO is our light and our savior, the hope of humanity. It may be granted that it has some usefulness as a place to exchange ideas with other nations and to reach some common understandings on lower levels of interest and importance, but to play it up as the magnificent instrument for peace which it so clearly is not, does our people a distinct

disservice by obstructing that realism without which we cannot hope to solve our international problems.

Critical Views of U.N.

Not Supported By Foundations

Even the “sounding board” theory of UNO usefulness finds eminent detractors. The *New York Times* of August 11, 1953, reports General Mark W. Clark as saying:

“That, although he had been the commander of United Nations forces in Korea, he ‘had not had much respect’ for the United Nations. It had high purposes, he said, a nice big building in New York, and delegates from all over the world. But, he added, it gave a ‘sounding board’ to Soviet Russia and its satellites, and turned loose spies, saboteurs, to the point of giving great assets to Russia and dangerous disadvantage to the United States.”

Why are these critical points of view, shared by many eminent Americans, such as Generals MacArthur and Van Fleet and innumerable other worthy citizens, military and civilian, not supported or even given some distribution by the foundations and the organizations they finance, which deal with things international?

U.N. — An Expansion of “Endowment’s” Own Activities

The 1947 Year Book of *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* contains a reprint of a document called *Recommendations of the President to the Trustees*, which recites that the most significant special circumstances favorable to an expansion of the *Endowment's* own direct activities is the establishment of the *United Nations* with its headquarters in New York, and with the United States as its leading and most influential member. “The opportunity for an endowed American institution having the objectives, traditions and prestige of the *Endowment*, to support and serve the United Nations is very great.”

Carnegie Endowment To Give Top Priority Status To Support of U.N.

The President then recommended earnestly “that the *Endowment* construct its program for the

period that lies ahead primarily for the support and the assistance of the *United Nations*." The program suggested should have two objectives. First, it was to be "widely educational in order to encourage public understanding and support of the *United Nations* at home and abroad" and "it should aid in the adoption of wise policies, both by our own government in its capacity as a member of the *United Nations*, and by the *United Nations Organization* as a whole."

Alger Hiss Urges Continued Nationwide Educational Effort in "One-World" Philosophy

The report then proceeds:

"The number and importance of decisions in the field of foreign relations with which the United States will be faced during the next few years are of such magnitude that the widest possible stimulation of public education in this field is of major and pressing importance. In furthering its educational objectives the *Endowment* should utilize its existing resources, such as *The International Relations Clubs* in the colleges, and *International Conciliation*, and should strengthen its relationships with existing agencies interested in the field of foreign affairs. These relationships should include close collaboration with other organizations principally engaged in the study of foreign affairs, such as *The Council on Foreign Relations*, *The Foreign Policy Association*, *The Institute of Pacific Relations*, the developing university centers of international studies, and local community groups interested in foreign affairs of which the *Cleveland Council on World Affairs* and the projected *World Affairs Council* in San Francisco are examples.

Carnegie Endowment To Infiltrate Large National Organizations

"Of particular importance is the unusual opportunity of reaching large segments of the population by establishing relations of a rather novel sort with the large national organizations which today are desirous of supplying their members with objective information on public affairs, including international issues. These organizations—designed to serve, respectively, the broad interests of businesses, church, women's, farm, labor, veterans',

educational, and other large groups of our citizens—are not equipped to set up foreign policy research staffs of their own. *The Endowment* should supply these organizations with basic information about the *United Nations* and should assist them both in selecting topics of interest to their members and in presenting those topics so as to be most readily understood by their members. We should urge *The Foreign Policy Association* and *The Institute of Pacific Relations* to supply similar service on other topics of international significance.

"Exploration should also be made by the endowment as to the possibilities of increasing the effectiveness of the radio and motion pictures in public education on world affairs." (Hearings, pp. 920, 921.)

It should be noted at this point that the President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace who made these recommendations was Mr. Alger Hiss.

A continued inquiry into foundation activities might well study their support of UNESCO projects. Whether all these are to the best interests of the United States, warranting the support by public funds through foundations, is doubtful.

An International Social Science Research Council

One agency which has come into being as a result of UNESCO action deserves special study. It is the *Provisional International Social Science Council*. Donald Young, President of the *Russell Sage Foundation*, explains the origin of this new organization in the March, 1952 issue of *Items*, the publication of the *Social Science Research Council*. A consultative organization meeting was held at the call of Mme. Alva Myrdal as Director of the Department of Social Sciences of UNESCO. Mme. Myrdal (wife of Gunnar Myrdal) is an extreme leftist who was at one time denied a visa by our State Department. That a person of Mme. Myrdal's persuasion should be a director of the social science department of UNESCO is rather forbidding.

Three Americans were selected for places in the ten man initial group to organize the new *International Council*. One of these was Mr. Young, who was elected president; another was Professor P. H. Odegard of the University of California; the

third was Professor Otto Klineberg of Columbia University, well-known as an extreme leftist.

Coercive Direction of Social Science Research On An International Basis

We have been unable to expend the time to investigate this new organization with any thoroughness. We suggest that such an investigation is highly desirable. There are indications that it is to act in the international field somewhat in the manner *The Social Science Research Council* acts in the domestic scene. The opportunities for coercive direction of research into a leftist direction will be present; and its integration with UNESCO makes it likely that its direction will be to the left. Foundation support for its activities is apparently expected. The extent and purpose of such support currently and in the future, bears watching. Perhaps more significant than anything else is that the *International Council* shall have among its duties (according to Mr. Young's article) this function:

"Whenever asked to do so, to tender [to UNESCO] advice on the choice of suitable social scientists for interdisciplinary projects of research."

It could thus become a virtual accrediting agency, with all the power and danger such a system involves. The danger is increased by the apparent fact that the structure of the new organization is un-democratic, perhaps even more so than that of *The Social Science Research Council* after which it seems to have been somewhat patterned.

Carnegie Endowment and the American Bar Association

Starting in 1946 *The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace* made substantial contributions to the *American Bar Association* on a matched-fund basis—that is, requiring the Association itself to supply part of the necessary funds—for the purpose of studying problems of international law. One of the problems contemplated for study was the crime of genocide. This project commenced while Alger Hiss was President of the *Endowment* and progressed while Professor Shotwell was his interim successor. Shortly after Joseph E. Johnson . . . came into office he launched into a controversy with the *American Bar Association* claiming that it had misused the funds granted by the *Endowment*. His main claim, as expressed in a letter

of September 27, 1950 to Mr. Codey Fowler, President of the *American Bar Association*, was "that funds from the *Endowment* grant have been or are being employed for the purpose of opposing ratification of the Genocide Convention as submitted to the United States Senate by the President." Mr. Johnson also complained that in the deliberations of the Association the point of view supporting the Genocide Convention had not been given sufficient hearing.

Without going into details of the controversy, which involved some rather sharp correspondence, we conclude from the facts that Mr. Johnson's irritation stemmed from the *Bar Association's* having *dared* to condemn the Genocide Convention.

Foundation executives make much of the assertion that they are under no obligation to follow up their grants and that they have in fact no right to interfere with the use of funds which they have allotted. Mr. Johnson's quite bitter controversy with the *Bar Association*, however, indicates that when the grantee arrives at conclusions distasteful to those who control the granting foundation, they feel they have a right to object and complain. We do not believe that Mr. Johnson would have complained if the *American Bar Association* had come to the conclusion that the Genocide Convention should be ratified. This is consistent with the propaganda nature of the *Carnegie Endowment*.

Ford Foundation Enters the Field

The Ford Foundation entered the international field with ardor. It has already spent vast sums of money on projects abroad. One of its five major programs concerns international and foreign objectives.

We find, in the furtherance of this program, grants in 1951 and 1952 to the *American Friends Service Committee* aggregating \$1,134,000. *The Ford Foundation Annual Report* for 1951 recites that the "officers" (note it is not the trustees) "felt that the *American Friends Service Committee* had demonstrated over a long period its capacity to deal effectively with many of the economic, social and educational conditions that lead to international tensions." The same report later contains this somewhat naive statement:

Ford Foundation Favors Communist Revolution in China

"Our policy in Asia has failed to lead us to the real objectives of the American people because its preoccupation with strategy and ideology has prevented our giving sufficient weight to the economic, social and political realities of Asia. *There, as elsewhere, we have tended to label as Communist any movement that sought a radical change in the established order, without consideration of the roots of such a movement.* Quaker workers, during years of service in the troubled Orient, have witnessed the great changes taking place and the increasing hostility with which the United States has regarded them. They are convinced that an effective policy must take into account the actual conditions that have produced these changes, as well as the new situation that revolution has created in Asia. Our fundamental ignorance of the East is costing us dear, but the situation has been further complicated by the fact that United States policy towards Asia has recently been exposed in an unusual degree to the hazards of domestic criticism arising from political partisanship.

Chinese Communist Revolution Compared To American Revolution

"It is surprising that we have not been able to understand the situation in Asia, because Americans should be peculiarly able to comprehend the meaning of revolution. *Our own independence was achieved through a revolution, and we have traditionally sympathized with the determined attempts of other peoples to win national independence and higher standards of living. The current revolution in Asia is a similar movement, whatever its present association with Soviet Communism.*"
[Emphasis supplied.]

Are there "officers" of a foundation who characterize a Russian-Communist armed and financed coup in China as a revolutionary movement similar to our War of Independence qualified to expend huge sums of money belonging in equity to the American people! Can a foundation be trusted to administer a half billion dollars of public funds in an area having to do with foreign affairs and international relations when its trustees apparently follow the advice of "officers" so uninformed in American history and institutions as to draw an

analogy between a Communist conquest and the American revolution!

American Friends Service Committee

Now let us briefly examine the record of the American Friends Service Committee to which the officers of the Ford Foundation attributed such "capacity to deal effectively" with vital problems that the Foundation granted that organization a total of \$1,134,000 of the public's money.

The Friends Service Committee supported the pacifist Frazier Bill which would have prevented us from waging war; and the Griffen Bill which would have prevented us from denying citizenship to those aliens who refused to take oath to defend the United States.

It sponsored the World Youth Congress which has been cited as a Communist front. It sent a delegate to the World Youth Festival, held in Prague in 1947, a pro-Soviet and Communist-sponsored affair.

In June, 1948 it circulated Congress with a statement expressing its unalterable opposition to conscription for military service. This statement was signed by its Chairman, Henry J. Cadbury, and its Executive Secretary, Clarence E. Pickett. [Both have Communist front affiliations.]

The Friends Service Committee organized the Student Peace Service Committee, which assisted in the organization of the Youth Committee Against War, which brought together:

The American Student Union (cited as a Communist front);

The War Resisters League;

The Fellowship of Reconciliation;

The Young Peoples Socialist League;

The Farmers Union;

The Independent Communist Labor League;

The Methodist Federation for Social Service (Youth Section);

The American Youth Congress;

and other left wing groups.

An Active Lobbying Organization

The Friends Service Committee has been an active lobbyist. A few years ago an organization known as the Friends Committee on National

Legislation was set up in Washington. It is believed to be a vehicle of the *American Friends Service Committee*, or closely associated with it. This unit opposed military training, favors liberalization of the immigration laws and asks legislation to sustain conscientious objectors. It supported the *Lehman Amendment* to the *McCarran-Walter Immigration Act*; it urges extensive foreign aid programs. It solicits financial contributions. Whether it is right or wrong in its respective legislative positions is of no moment here—the point is that it engages actively in prompting some legislation and opposing other measures. This function should, in itself, deny it the support of a foundation.

Nor does the *American Friends Service Committee* itself refrain from political pressure. In January, 1950, it wrote the following message to President Truman, presuming to press him in an area of government activity of the greatest moment:

"Further intervention will result in the hardening of Chinese resentment against America and the strengthening of Sino-Russian ties by treating Communist China as an enemy and by refusing to recognize her, we are not isolating China, we are isolating ourselves."

Officers of Ford Foundation Guilty of Gross Negligence

It is the conclusion of this Committee that, in deciding that this organization should be supported, the officers of *The Ford Foundation* exhibited a lack of sound bases for judgment; and the trustees who gave these officers their support in distributing \$1,134,000 of public trust money were guilty of gross negligence.

Remember the contention of the foundations, expressed several times in the Cox Committee hearings, that they are entitled to make mistakes, that they cannot enter "experimental" fields without making mistakes! This contention is wholly acceptable when a mistake is sometimes made in some innocuous, nose-counting piece of research. When the mistake relates to the safety of our country, the burden passes heavily to the foundation to prove that its action was reasonable, carefully thought-out and *without* reasonable possibility of damage.

Ford Foundation — A Propagandist for UNESCO



The Ford Foundation has become a propagandist for *UNESCO*, as indeed have several of the other great foundations. Our school children are being taught that *UNESCO* is one of the hopes of the world. No critical analysis is ever given, as far as we have been able to determine, but merely blind adulation. . . .

The frantic efforts of some of the foundations to widen public support for *UNESCO* deserve studied attention.

A Global Economic System

. . . The extent to which foundations have promoted the theory that we must subordinate our own economic welfare for that of the world in order to have peace is worth an investigation of its own. *The Rockefeller Foundation* in its 1941 report said:

"If we are to have a durable peace after the war, if out of the wreckage of the present a new kind of cooperative life is to be built on a global scale, the part that science and advancing knowledge will play must not be overlooked."

The presumption is that a global economic system is desirable. Such a system could not exist without some form of coercive supervision. Whether Americans are ready to accept such supervision is extremely doubtful.

Foundation Support of International Arrangements Needs To Be Studied

An aspect of this subject which may sorely need attention is the use made of foundation funds to promote international arrangements for the control and distribution of raw materials and other interferences with domestic manufacture and trade. In the overwhelming desire to make us part of "one world" as quickly as possible, many associated with foundation work have supported movements which are decidedly short-sighted from the standpoint of the nationalistic world in which we will, as a practical matter, live and work.

Activities of The National Education Association Sharply Questioned

In 1948 the *National Education Association* issued a volume entitled *Education for International Understanding in American Schools—Suggestions and Recommendations*, prepared by the *Committee on International Relations*, the *Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development* and the *National Council for the Social Studies*, all departments of the *NEA*. (Hearings, p. 64 et seq.) It was the result of a project financed in part directly by the *NEA* through contributions from teachers and partly by a grant from the *Carnegie Corporation of New York*. (Hearings, p. 65.)

The foreword by Warren Robinson Austin, then our representative at the UN, stated that the UN in 1949 had unanimously called upon the member states to provide effective teaching about the UN in schools. Apparently the *NEA* project was at least partially in answer to this call. It recommended that the teachers in our schools educate pupils into internationalism and gave specific suggestions as to objectives and methods. (Hearings, p. 65.)

There is a grave question in the minds of this Committee whether this powerful organization of teachers has any right to attempt to promote a uniform program of education on a national basis. . . . The program of the *NEA*, however, as expressed in the book under discussion, went far further than a mere educational program. It assumed that because the *United Nations* had been accepted as an intrinsic part of American foreign policy it should receive virtually unqualified and uncritical support.

U.N. Agencies Promoting Concepts Alien To American Tradition

The fact is that while the *United Nations* does play an intrinsic part in our foreign policy, support among our citizens for its mechanism and the detailed actions of its various constituents, boards and bodies is far from universal. The intelligent observer cannot escape the conclusion that the agencies of the *United Nations* themselves in many instances have promoted ideas and concepts which seem antithetical to many of our own basic principles.

NEA Advocates World-Wide Socialist Economy

We find in Mr. Austin's preface, for example, reference to the necessity for "rationalization of production and distribution on a world-wide basis." It is suggested that "solution of economic problems on a purely national basis without regard to the effect of their conduct on other peoples and nations breeds economic war." (Hearings, p. 66.) That may well be but there are many in the United States who believe that our efforts to improve the world's economy at enormous cost to the American taxpayer have not only been ineffective but have been met with a universal ego-centric response by the other nations.

U.S. Must Sacrifice National Independence In Order To Create Global Society

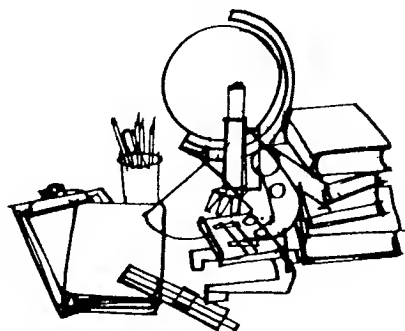
The general tone of the volume is that we must sacrifice a considerable part of our national independence in order to create a stable and peaceful world. . . . *In the meantime, to train our children into the desirability of becoming internationalists at a time when world society is characterized by the most intense kind of . . . nationalism seems both unrealistic and dangerous.*

Adulation of UN – Almost Childish

The volume implies that the creation of the *United Nations* is only the first step in the establishment of a world order. Its adulation of the *United Nations* itself is almost childish. In the face of our difficulties with Russia it says: "Through its Security Council, every dispute that affects the peace of the world can be brought before an international body endowed with authority to take all necessary steps for the restraint of aggression." (Hearings, p. 67.) *To impose this concept upon our children in the schools is to teach them nonsense. The futility of the United Nations in settling international disputes has been tragically evident. And this futility, moreover, is not the result of a failure on our part to be "international minded."*

"Collaboration" is emphasized in this volume. We are to collaborate with all the various UNO bureaus and agencies, even the Commission on Human Rights.

Indoctrinating Children To Accept World Government



The volume emphasizes the responsibility of teachers for "contributing to the maintenance of enduring peace." (Hearings, p. 67.) This is to be accomplished by indoctrinating our children with the desirability of full cooperation with the UNO and all its works. "This will certainly involve curriculum revision and the recasting of many time-honored educational policies and practices. It is a case in which half-measures and lip-service will not be adequate, for if these are the substance of the effort, the challenge will go unanswered." (Hearings, p. 68.) The goal is set as producing citizens who might be called "world-minded Americans." We cannot escape the conclusion that what is meant is the production of advocates of a world state.

Again, we say that someday a world state may be desirable and possible. However, we are living in a very realistic era in which "one world" could only be accomplished by succumbing to Communism. The program suggested contains this specific identification of the "world-minded American": "The world-minded American knows that unlimited national sovereignty is a threat to world peace and that nations must cooperate to achieve peace and human progress."

Use of Force Justified

On page 21 of this volume we find this astounding statement (Hearings, p. 69.):

"* * * More recently, the idea has become established that the preservation of international peace and order may require that force be used to compel a nation to conduct its affairs within the framework of an established world system. The most modern expression of this doctrine of collective security is in the United Nations Charter."

The Social Causes of War

On page 31 we find this:

"* * * The social causes of war are overwhelmingly more important than the attitudes and behavior of individuals. If this be true, *the primary approach to the prevention of war must involve action in the area of social and political organization and control.* (Hearings, p. 69.) [Emphasis supplied.]

Education is the recommended road to "social and political organization and control" and education is described "as a force for conditioning the will of a people * * *". It utilizes old techniques and mass media such as the printed word, the cinema, the radio, and now television." (Hearings, p. 69.) If we read these terms correctly they seem to mean to us that the educators are to use all the techniques of propaganda in order to condition our children to the particular variety of "world-mindedness" which these educators have adopted. Considerable space is later spent for "education for peace through mass media." (Hearings, pp. 69, 70.)

National Sovereignty Threat To World Peace

There is constant repetition of the idea that "the world-minded American believes that unlimited national sovereignty is a threat to world peace". On page 44 we find:

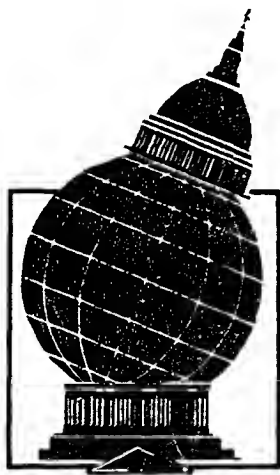
"* * * Many persons believe that enduring peace cannot be achieved so long as the nation-state system continues as at present constituted. It is a system of international anarchy—a species of jungle warfare. Enduring peace cannot be attained until the nation-states surrender to a world organization the exercise of jurisdiction over those problems with which they have found themselves unable to deal singly in the past. If like conditions continue in the future as in the past, like situations will arise. Change the conditions, and the situations will change."

Again, on page 46, we find this:

"We are likely to take the present nation-state system for granted; but in so doing, we are likely to overestimate its permanence and underestimate its significance. * * *" [Emphasis supplied.] (Hearings, p. 70.)

Call For Surrender of National Independence

There is a definite call to political action or at least to a promotion of the idea that we must surrender some of our political independence. On page 57 we find this:



“ * * * The demonstration of the feasibility of international organization in nonpolitical fields and the failure of the League of Nations makes even more clear the fact that it is in the area of ‘political’ organization where failure seems to be consistent. This suggests that the difficulty may be traceable to the dogma of unlimited sovereignty—that nothing must be allowed to restrict the complete independence of the state. It suggests also that the dogma of sovereignty has a high emotional content that is self-generated and self-sustained and that so long as the dogma of illimitability obtains, international cooperation of a political nature will at best be tenuous.” (Hearings, p. 71.)

Need To Conform National Economic Policies To World Economy

On page 60 we find this recommendation that we must conform our national economic policies to an international world economy:

“ * * * The development of international cooperation as a contributing force to economic well-being is possible only insofar as it is applied to give direction to common positive aims and to condition the effects of national economic policies that would otherwise be serious disruptions of the inter-

dependent world economy.” (Hearings, p. 71.)

We must have (page 62) a “planned economic cooperation on a world-wide scale.”

Elements of World-Minded American

Our children are not merely to be educated into international points of view—they are told how to make themselves effective in creating political pressure. We offer these quotations as examples:

Page 80:

“ * * * An individual can increase his effectiveness in influencing foreign policy by associating himself with organizations and by helping to formulate their attitudes on international questions. The groups most suitable for this purpose are the political party and those generally called pressure groups.”

Page 81:

“ * * * The world-minded American, as a part of his program of action, should concern himself with how these groups operate. He will find that he himself can probably have a greater influence through this technique. He will also find that since a great deal of official action is determined by pressure group action, the use of this device will enable him to be heard and will also enable him to urge his interest for peace against those he considers to be urging a contrary interest. He will find that the variety and interest of the groups with which he can affiliate are endless; and he must, therefore, examine carefully the aims of the group or groups to which he will devote his energies.”

Page 82:

“ * * * Teachers must act. As citizens, their obligation to act on behalf of peace and international cooperation is a responsibility shared with all other citizens. But teachers cannot be content merely to do just as much as others; they must do more. Teachers in almost any American community have greater competence in leadership skills and in knowledge than most of their fellow citizens. With greater capacity goes greater responsibility for bringing personal influence to bear on civic action on the local, State, and National levels.” (Hearings, p. 72.)

Schools To Become the Militant Agent of New Social Revolution

The school is to be a sort of militant agent so that "the total impact of community thinking may be brought to bear on major issues. Such a role brings the school into working contact with those agencies in the community which are keyed to action * * *."

The schools are told how "to assume their responsibility". Programs are to be developed rapidly. School planning committees are to pool ideas and coordinate. "Aids and sources" are recommended, including reading materials, film and film strips, etc. A list of books are recommended and among them we find some the advisability of recommendations we seriously doubt. (Hearings, p. 73.)

NEA — Important Tool of Foundation World

Putting the evidence together, we conclude that the National Education Association has been an important element in the tax-exempt world used to indoctrinate American youth with "internationalism", the particular variety which Professor Colgrove referred to as "globalism." This point of view is closely related to the "new era" which so many social scientists have envisioned as the ultimate goal of our society when they have gotten through "engineering" us into it.

We note that the filed statement by the National Education Association has made no effort to explain any of the criticisms made of that organization in the testimony, including the material we have just treated on globalism. This crucial and well documented issue is completely evaded with the remark that the NEA is "unable to learn whether any of the previous testimony is regarded by your Committee as worthy of further examination." The following characterization disposes of the evidence itself: "This testimony, insofar as we have been able to examine it, is so vague and so self-contradictory, that detailed comment seems unnecessary." (Hearings, p. 1147.) We beg to differ with the NEA.

Expenditures Abroad: Need To Be Studied

This Committee has not been able to expend the time to ascertain the extent of foundation

spending abroad. It is clear, however, that millions of the taxpayers' money are spent annually outside of the United States. A further investigation might well consider whether there should not be some limitations placed upon such foreign use of American money. In this era in which our Government feels obliged to pour billions into the support of the rest of the world, it is questionable whether foundations should have the right, freely to use further millions of the people's money in alien ventures.

There is the further problem of whether foundation expenditures abroad may not, at times, directly conflict with government policy. The whole subject is worthy of intensive study.

The Basic, Foundation-Supported Propaganda re Foreign Affairs

It is our conclusion, from the evidence, that the foundation supported activities which relate to foreign policy have been turned consciously and expressly in the direction of propagandizing for one point of view. That point of view, widely disseminated by foundations at great cost in public funds, has been the official line of the former two administrations, submitted with such rare criticism, if any, as to constitute truly political activity. Where has been the objectivity which we have the right to expect when trustees disburse our money? Where has been an expression of the minority points of view which have, in the course of time, proved themselves correct?

President Hoover's Assessment of U.S. Foreign Policy

The following quotation is from the speech of ex-President Hoover, as reported in *The New York Times* of August 11, 1954, upon the occasion of his 80th birthday, after so many years of selfless devotion to the people of the United States:

"In our foreign relations there are great dangers and also vital safeguards to free men. During the last war we witnessed a special encroachment of the Executive upon the legislative branch. This has been through a new type of commitment of the United States to other nations.

"I am not going to argue legalisms, for they do not go to the center of the issue. The real issue is whether the President, through declaration or

implication or by appeasement or by acquiescence or by joint statements with foreign officials, can commit the American people to foreign nations without the specific consent of the elected representatives of the people.

"There has been a grievous list of such commitments. They include international agreements which shackle our economy by limiting a free market. But more terrible were such executive agreements as our recognition of Soviet Russia which opened the headgates for a torrent of traitors.

"Our tacit alliance with Soviet Russia spread communism over the earth. Our acquiescence in the annexation by Russia of the Baltic States at Moscow and the partition of Poland at Teheran extinguished the liberties of tens of millions of people.

"Worse still was the appeasement and surrender at Yalta of ten nations to slavery. And there was the secret agreement with respect to China which set in train the communization of Mongolia, North Korea and all of China.

"These unrestrained Presidential actions have resulted in a shrinking of human freedom over the whole world. From these actions came the jeopardies of the 'Cold War.' As a by-product these actions have shrunk our freedoms by crushing taxes, huge defense costs, inflation and compulsory military service.

"We must make such misuse of power forever impossible . . .

"Our dangers from the Communist source of gigantic evil in the world are unending. All of the peace agencies we have created and all of the repeated conferences we have held have failed to find even a whisper of real peace.

"Amid these malign forces, our haunting anxiety and our paramount necessity is the defense of our country.

"It is not my purpose to define the foreign policies of our Government.

"Sooner or later a new line of action will become imperative.

"I have disagreed with, and protested against, the most dangerous of our foreign political policies during the whole of the twenty years prior to the last Presidential election. I opposed and protested every step in the policies which led us into the Second World War.

"Especially in June, 1941, when Britain was safe from a German invasion due to Hitler's diversion to attack on Stalin, I urged that the gargantuan jest of all history would be our giving aid to the Soviet Government. I urged we should allow those two dictators to exhaust each other. I stated that the result of our assistance would be to spread communism over the whole world. I urged that if we stood aside the time would come when we could bring lasting peace to the world.

"I have no regrets. The consequences have proved that I was right."

It would be interesting to take each criticism offered by President Hoover and to determine how much foundation money has been spent in disseminating it among our people, as against disseminating the concept or principle which it criticizes. We are confident, from the evidence we have examined, that the result would show a preponderance against Mr. Hoover's criticism of about one million to one, in almost every instance. *If this is the way these foundations have discharged their duty to the people to be objective and fair, we are frank to say that their tax exemption may have been a tragic mistake. They have been propaganda agencies; and foundation propaganda in any political area cannot be tolerated.* (Official Report, Special Committee To Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations And Comparable Organizations, December 16, 1954, House Report No. 2681, pp. 168-195.) □

Possible Power Center Behind the Foundations

The following interview was conducted with Norman Dodd in Keene, Va. on November 12-13, 1977 by Michael Loyd Chadwick, Editor. © 1978 by Michael Loyd Chadwick

Reflections Concerning the Investigation

Mr. Chadwick: Since 1954 what reflections have you reached concerning your investigations?

Mr. Dodd: The story embodied in the minutes of the Carnegie Endowment should be made known to the people of the country in documented terms. It's unbelievable that men who occupy positions of trusteeship on these large endowed foundations, who are incidentally, the most respected members of our citizenry, could possibly engage in things like this.

Congressman Reece's Understanding Of Conspiracy

Mr. Chadwick: What was Mr. Reece's understanding of the conspiracy?

Mr. Dodd: Mr. Reece's understanding of the conspiracy was that the origin of it was external to the country. It was in Europe, and it had a long history behind it. It manifested itself, figuratively, almost the day after the Constitution of the United States was ratified. It was entirely centered on the danger to the center of this conspiracy, stemming from the ideas which brought this country into being. These ideas had to be discredited somehow.

Founding Fathers Aware of Giant Conspiracy

That there existed such an enemy, and that the enemy was motivated by what I have just said, was known to the Founding Fathers. Between themselves and in some cases in correspondence they made reference to the enemy of the country which was headquartered abroad. In the early days of the 19th century in the few colleges that were then in existence, the curriculum drew attention to the fact that there did exist an enemy of the country and that it was the responsibility of the citizens to defend this country against that enemy.

How Center of Conspiracy Operates

The center of this conspiracy operates on the basis of a specific objective. That objective, as perhaps you could suspect, is what Carroll Reece, himself, had long suspected. It is to render humanity incapable of supporting any longer the basic religious beliefs of the Founding Fathers and therefore rejecting the unalienable rights of man which are inherent in those beliefs. This is their method of subverting human freedom and wiping out the whole ideological foundation which was used by the early American leaders to establish the first free society in modern times.

Their tactics are guided from the center and from there they assign certain persons or groups to gradually monopolize various facets of human activity all over the world. They have to take care of education, finance, industry, government, etc. These franchise assignments are very specific. They are also very profitable to those who accept these franchises and carry them out. By interlocking their efforts all of these franchises or assignments are coordinated to make them financially and politically successful.

Mr. Chadwick: What you are saying is that there is a center which directs certain areas such as finance or international relations, and that a family, or a group, or an individual could be delegated the responsibility to carry out its secret plans?

Not A Jewish Conspiracy

Mr. Dodd: Yes, a group or persons. It ends up in a set of self-perpetuating dynasties. The franchise gives to an entity, complete control. One thing that you have to be careful about is that certain people feel that the problems are all traceable to the Jews. That is a booby trap, in my opinion. The central directing entity is not Jewish. However, wherever possible it uses people from all ethnic groups to carry out its purposes.

Centralization of Power Required To Maintain Control

One important function of the center is franchising out the control of money in various parts of the world. In order for these franchises to be effective there has to be a concentration of power at the center controlling major quantities of the world's tangible wealth and natural resources. Otherwise, those who engage in it would never dare assume the risks that go with it. These risks are always tremendous.

Subversion of America and Russia Promoted From A Central Base

Mr. Chadwick: When did you begin to feel that there was a conspiracy operating against America?

Mr. Dodd: I came to the conclusion that the revolutionary changes which were imposed on our national life subsequent to 1933, were designed, manipulated and promoted from some central base. That central base then, became, hypothetically, a kind of prize for the researcher providing we could trace its operations to their point of origin. My investigation revealed that this center of control was not only responsible for changes in America but had been the power base which engineered the downfall of Russia. They both emanated from the same base.

Subversion of America Began With The Birth of Nation

Mr. Chadwick: When did you find that the forces of subversion first began attacking the United States?

Mr. Dodd: As a result of protracted inquiry I came to the conclusion that it began the day after the Constitution was ratified. It must be realized that from the point of view of those who wanted to control the world and all its resources, the whole American thrust for freedom was a deadly threat. They hated the ideas and the consequences of those ideas which the principles in the founding documents contained. They wanted those ideas completely discredited. They also wanted the Founding Fathers discredited. There was a far more profound opposition to the whole fabric of America's free society than a few thousand Tories.

Attempts to Saddle America With National Debt

Part of the scheme was to keep America wallowing in debt. This was one of the reasons for provoking the War of 1812. But no matter what happened, the American people would not accept a large national debt for long. Every time they were forced into debt by war or some other emergency, they would scramble out of it by utilizing the taxing power of the government to raise funds and pay off the debt. In fact, we entered the 20th Century with a national debt of only \$3,000,000, and that was the last remaining obligation resulting from borrowings to develop the Panama Canal.

Central Power Base Operating in 1789

Mr. Chadwick: Are you saying that in 1789 there was a central power base in operation?

Mr. Dodd: Definitely, and devoted entirely to what could then be called the discreditation of the ideas which were embodied in our founding documents. Those documents were the embodiment of ideas which had a long history behind them. They could be devastating to monarchs, emperors and power-hungry tyrants. I consider it a miracle that those remarkable republican principles were ever allowed to be resurrected.

Conspirators Experience Failure Before Success

It took roughly 150 years to foul the nest of America's freedom. Their attempts to discredit the freedom formula of the Founders suffered defeat after defeat. But always there was a re-examination of the causes of the failures and accommodating adjustments made. Eventually, it was thought that success might result from capturing the tangible wealth which the people of this country had developed and keep it under concentrated control. This was achieved by a unique process.

Conspirators Finally Succeed In Concentrating Wealth Through Foundations

The ideal vehicle for the capture and control of the nation's tangible wealth turned out to be huge tax-exempt foundations. A great many preliminary steps were required, however, before that actually came to pass. One of those requirements was setting up what we call incentive taxation. Incentive taxation motivated the vastly wealthy families to place their huge fortunes in tax-exempt foundations. This protected them from both income tax levies and estate taxes. The adoption of the 16th Amendment paved the way for the inducement of wealthy families to find a tax shelter and the tax-exempt foundation was the perfect solution for both income and estate taxes.

The next step was to have carefully prepared personalities who were loyal to the power center become trustees of the foundation. Almost overnight this wealth which was a product of the free enterprise system was being used to destroy that system.

Secret Societies and Agents Utilized By the Center

Mr. Chadwick: Are secret societies or secret agents a functioning part of this power center?

Mr. Dodd: Yes, in a number of ways, secret societies or individual agents become the recipients of franchise assignments. That is the only way I can describe it. The center decides to get something into motion. It may be a project affecting industry, or it may be a subject they desire to have taught a certain way in education. The franchise is assigned and those persons who accept the assignment are made the recipients of substantial financial rewards. All they are told is that what they have been asked to do is extremely important for the benefit of humanity.

This will explain why professors in certain preferred universities who were accustomed to a top salary of \$12,000 a year suddenly become the beneficiaries of \$25,000 and \$35,000. The professor assumes that if he continues to please his benefactor he will get further raises or favors. And he does. The Foundations are extremely generous to those who serve their will. This secret loyalty they purchase with money or rewards is the means by which they assume their continuous control.

A Clever Plan to Force Wealth Into Foundations

Mr. Chadwick: Why did the men at the center consider the tax-exempt foundations such an important part of their plan?

Mr. Dodd: It provided means by which the control of tangible wealth produced by the people can gradually be locked up in a perpetual storehouse controlled by the center. This accumulated wealth can then be used to fulfill the historical purpose they have in mind which is to gradually gain control of the people and the resources of

the whole world. That is why they have deliberately created such a complex tax structure so that when extremely wealthy people die they are more or less forced to place their fortunes in some kind of foundation. The center then gets control of the board of trustees over that foundation and that wealth is then added to the center's treasury of controlled assets.

Dodd Identifies Center of Worldwide Conspiracy

Mr. Chadwick: Some people believe that some sort of secret society is the center. Are you saying that various secret societies are used by the center to carry out assigned functions while the center itself remains invisible?

Mr. Dodd: That is correct. I will clarify it now, because in order for these things which we are saying to make some sense, I must identify what my investigation disclosed to be the center. But maybe there is something even bigger I haven't found yet. This is a continuing probe but at least I can identify what appears to be the center at this time.

The center, to me, is a vast corporate directorate, the main resources of which are openly listed on the world's stock exchanges. It is the perpetual interlocking which gives the center its secret power. This corporate directorate has been known historically as the House of Orange. At the turn of the 18th century, the House of Orange was established as a corporation. Today it is known as the Societe Generale de Belgique. It is one of the largest aggregations of tangible wealth under the control of private hands in the entire world. Its home office is in Brussels. In the early days Brussels and Holland were known as the Low Countries, so in a sense this means Holland and Belgium together. That is where the House of Orange became established as a seat of economic power.

The House of Orange

The history of the House of Orange is traceable back at least 400 years. I can't give you the exact date, but it is clearly traceable as a vehicle into which there gradually accumulated almost the complete ownership or control of the natural

resources of the world, out of which nearly all other wealth has grown. They own land, mines, water power sites, industries—literally hundreds of corporations all over the world.

History of the House of Orange

It is from this House that William of Orange was picked up and schooled to accede to the throne of England as the son-in law of James II. He was financed for that purpose. In extending its economic power over Europe, the House of Orange operated under an age-old adage which has come down through history, namely that the will of the sovereign is the will of his creditors. If you can get a sovereign in debt you have control of him.

The greatest problem that the House of Orange faced in this country was the fact that the American Constitution provided for a system of diffused sovereignty, that is, the people were sovereign. This, of course, presented the House of Orange with a unique problem, namely, how could it get the American sovereign in its debt and under its control when there was no seeming sovereign?

The 150 Year Campaign to Capture America

This became then the focal point of their effort in the United States during the first 150 years of this nation's history. They had to accomplish two things. The first was to get the nation deeply in debt and keep it there. This was not easy. The United States entered the 20th Century minus a national debt. We had a record behind us which demonstrated that whenever we had to accept a national debt it was always temporary. We always took the trouble to work hard and pay it off. But that notable record ended with the carefully contrived Crash of 1929 and the advent of the equally carefully contrived "New Deal" which was inaugurated in 1933. This created a monumental national debt which has been bloated by war and foreign aid programs until today the U.S. owes more than all the countries of the world combined. What was worse, this opened the door for their second goal, which was the complete nullification of popular sovereignty as a practical instrument of power.

For over 45 years most Americans have known that something was wrong with the social revolu-

Mr. Dodd: In my opinion, they are powerful organizations which have been set up and used to implement the policies of the center.

The Bilderbergers

Mr. Chadwick: What is your knowledge of the Bilderberger organization?

Mr. Dodd: Each year a Bilderberger Conference is convened in various parts of the world as a briefing system. This is one of the important functioning elements of this whole system. By periodically convening the most influential men in government, industry, and finance from various countries, the center is able to brief them as to what they are expected to set in motion when they went home.

Training of Conspirators

Mr. Chadwick: Does the center provide some special place for the training of its people in the subtle art of subversion?

Mr. Dodd: No. It comes about in another way. The careers of men are watched. The men who indicate that they would be especially capable in terms of the aims of this group are approached quietly and invited into inner circles. They are watched as they carry out assignments and eventually they are drawn into it under circumstances which make it virtually impossible for them to ever get out of it.

Eventual Merger With Soviet Union

Mr. Chadwick: How do you feel the merger between the United States and Russia will be accomplished?

Mr. Dodd: The technique of this center is to generate circumstances designed to create a national emergency, a very critical situation. This national emergency is then used as an excuse to bring in a whole body of proposals or propositions they claim will alleviate the distress of the people. Under the stress and the strain of the emergency (a political collapse comparable to the collapse that took place in the financial world in 1929), it is easy for them to justify the employment of powers in the President which deal with a national emergency. When that happens they can follow

it up by saying, "You either face utter chaos or you merge with the Soviet system." They may use different words to describe the system but a tightly controlled dictatorship of the Soviet type is what they intend to establish.

Future Crisis to Cause Political and Economic Collapse of Government

Mr. Chadwick: Are you saying that in the future you are anticipating that there will be a worldwide crisis?

Mr. Dodd: The major crisis will be created here because the rest of the free world is in the position where it is more or less dependent upon the United States.

Inability of Government to Maintain Law and Order

Mr. Chadwick: What type of crisis are you talking about?

Mr. Dodd: I believe that this time it will be political and result in the inability of government to maintain law and order.

Mr. Chadwick: Would you elaborate on what you mean by this?

Mr. Dodd: There will be the continued spread of terrorism that you see gestating even now. There will be an increase in the crime rate to the point where it is horrible and fear will grip the minds of the people. I think, in effect, it will serve the same purpose as the Crash of 1929 which justified the adoption of the whole program of the New Deal. The New Deal was all laid out in book form in 1928. Few people knew about the book, but eventually it was discovered and analyzed by those of us who wondered where the ideas for the New Deal came from.

"Phillip Drew — Administrator": Detailed Plans for New Deal

Mr. Chadwick: What was the title?

Mr. Dodd: The title was *Phillip Drew — Administrator*. The first sixty days of Mr. Roosevelt's Administration, following his inauguration, was the implementation of a complete program which was laid out in that book.

The collapse that did occur was brought about within the framework of what we refer to broadly as an economic crisis but the result or the effect was political. To me, this time it is going to be the reverse. The emergency of the collapse will be political, and the effect will be economic.

Acceleration of Collectivism in U.S.

Mr. Chadwick: You have been quoted as saying that: "The Foundation world is a coordinated, well directed system, the purpose of which is to insure that the wealth of our country shall be used to divorce it from the ideas which brought it into being. The foundations are the biggest single influence in collectivism."

Do you feel that since your study that this has been accelerated or has it slowed down?

Mr. Dodd: It has accelerated greatly.

Foundations Have Accomplished Desired Goals

Mr. Chadwick: Do you feel that today the huge tax-exempt foundations such as Rockefeller, Ford and Carnegie are more threatening to our liberties than when the Reece Committee investigated them more than twenty years ago?

Mr. Dodd: No, they are no longer threatening. They have accomplished it. It is a fact now.

Mr. Chadwick: What do you mean, it is a fact?

Mr. Dodd: Through their efforts they have oriented us culturally to accept collectivism. This is an accomplished fact.

Andrew Carnegie Favored World Government

Mr. Chadwick: Henry and D.L. Thomas, writing a book entitled *Fifty Great Americans*, stated the following concerning Andrew Carnegie: "There is bound to be universal peace, he believed, through the final interlocking of national interests throughout the world, at first a coalition of America and England, union of the English-speaking race, then a United States of Europe, and finally a unification of the entire human race." (Doubleday & Co., N.Y. 1948, p. 241)

Are you aware of any other statements made by Carnegie of this nature?

Mr. Dodd: No, except Mr. Carnegie was known to have regretted the revolt of the American colonies and was devoted to the unification of the Anglo-Saxon, English-speaking people.

Cecil Rhodes' Secret Society

Mr. Chadwick: How does Cecil Rhodes' secret society that was organized in 1891 and the Rhodes Scholarship program relate to the Societe Generale de Belgique?

Mr. Dodd: What Rhodes called his "secret society" was independent in the beginning but it has been taken over or made to serve the Societe Generale.

Rhodes Scholarships Utilized To Train Individuals in One World Government

Mr. Chadwick: Are you saying that the secret society organized by Cecil Rhodes and discussed by Professor Quigley was started independently but has been taken over by the Societe Generale de Belgique?

Mr. Dodd: Yes. It started independently as an idea. The ambition of Cecil Rhodes was to create a commonwealth of all English-speaking people and bring the rest of the world under their control. However, the Societe Generale has used the Rhodes Scholarships as a means of training scholars to promote the one world concept.

The Council on Foreign Relations & The Royal Institute of International Affairs

Mr. Chadwick: Professor Quigley states in his book, *Tragedy and Hope*, that it was the secret society organized by Rhodes that eventually evolved into what we know as the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the Council on Foreign Relations.

Are you saying that the Council and the Royal Institute originally developed independently of the Societe Generale de Belgique?

Mr. Dodd: Yes. They were brought under its influence policy-wide but not administratively. Eventually, all of these different groups get sucked into this one system, one way or another. You can trace it through the movement of men, money and ideas that we discovered during our investigation.

A Hierarchal Structure

Mr. Chadwick: Is there a single organization or network, or simply different groups working for the same goals?

Mr. Dodd: I consider it a hierarchal structure with the Societe Generale directorate at the very top. To the extent that the ambitions and the aims of the directorate require secrecy to penetrate some new area of influence or wealth a secret society already in existence is utilized or a new one created. You have to admit it is operating pretty effectively.

Summary of the Foundation World's Influence in America

Mr. Chadwick: You have been quoted as saying the following:

"The result of the development and operation of the network in which foundations have played such a significant role seems to have provided this country with what is tantamount to a national

system of education under the tight control of organizations and persons little known to the American public. The principles upon which this country was founded are now scorned as a result of the changes fostered by the foundations' control of education. The foundations have been able to take the philosophy upon which American civilization was based and turn it into its opposite. The foundations are fostering under the guise of public spirited largesse, a theory and philosophy totally diverse from that of the Founding Fathers. A joining of the power of law with that of wealth has been used to wean us from our loyalty to the principles of individual liberty. Today this fact is so glaringly obvious that it can hardly be denied, yet anyone calling attention to it publicly is subject to ridicule by the academic and the captive press. Wealth controls culture. Since their inception the foundations have used their wealth to change American culture to one of collectivism. If a nation is going to be socialist it is not merely because of labor unions or street agitators, but amazing as it seems to those who have not studied it, because wealth improperly used has altered the culture of the nation and led it to the left."

Is this an accurate summary of what the Reece Committee found?

Mr. Dodd: This statement must be regarded as a summation of the inescapable conclusions to which our investigation led us. ☐

"The direction of history has been cyclical in nature. My strong feeling is that the time has actually come when it is possible to break that cyclical performance. The means of stopping the conspiracy is to begin . . . teaching . . . a knowledge of the free enterprise system . . . and . . . the Constitution."

—Norman Dodd

What You Can Do



1. Inasmuch as several of the major tax-exempt foundations are definitely intent on promoting a social revolution in America, we feel that the Congress should begin a vigorous, indepth study of the activities of these foundations. The people of the United States are entitled to know the true extent of their influence and the legitimacy of their extravagant expenditure of tax-exempt funds in which the public has a major vested interest.

You can send copies of this issue to your Congressman and your Senators urging them to launch an investigation at the earliest possible date.

2. Inasmuch as the network of foundations described in this issue has succeeded in altering the educational emphasis in the American schools toward collectivism, socialism and secular humanism, you can help restore an American climate in your local schools. You can assist in organizing a scholarly study of all the textbooks presently being used in your schools including both the elementary and secondary schools as well as any colleges or universities in your community.

3. Inasmuch as the Congressional Committee discovered that the principal vehicle being used for the dispensing of distorted precepts among students is the so-called "social science" classes, you can remedy the situation by working with your local educational leaders. Insist upon developing a

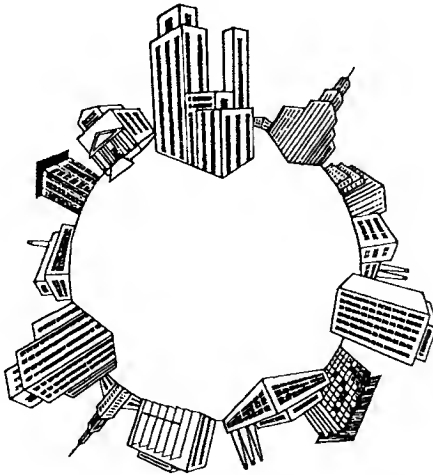
new curriculum specifically designed to promote the free enterprise system, the Constitution of the United States and the basic principles of morality, integrity and industry upon which this nation was founded.

You can further assist by searching for outstanding textbooks which support these principles.

4. We encourage you to popularize the positive steps which can be taken to restore the Constitution in the tradition of the Founding Fathers and rescue the free enterprise system. This can be accomplished only by the election of carefully trained, wise and experienced "Constitutionalists" who understand free enterprise economics and will labor to restore Constitutional principles.

5. Inasmuch as the giant foundations are striving to create a national system of education under their control, you can resist this trend by working to return the control of your schools to the local school board under the immediate supervision of your communities.

6. Since the major foundations know they can never completely control public education so long as parents have the alternative of private schools they have made it their goal to destroy or bring under their control the private schools of each state. You can prevent this by making certain that the private schools of your state remain independent and free. ☐



FOUNDATIONS

"The result . . . of the network in which [the tax-exempt] foundations have played such a significant role seems to have provided this country with what is tantamount to a national system of education under the tight control of organizations and persons little known to the American public. The principles upon which this country was founded are now in scorn as a result of the changes fostered by the foundations' control of education The foundations are fostering under the guise of public spirited largesse a theory and philosophy totally diverse from that of the Founding Fathers. A joining of the power of law with that of wealth has been used to wean us from our loyalty to the principles of individual liberty Wealth controls culture. Since their inception the foundations have used their wealth to change American culture to one of collectivism."

Norman Dodd